MATERIAL FOR A HISTORY
OF
POPE ALEXANDER VI

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Pope Alexander VI

HIS RELATIVES AND HIS TIME

BY RIGHT REVEREND MSGR.

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VOLUME III

Pope Alexander VI as a Supreme Pontiff

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INTRODUCTION

The most important, if not the most interesting, part of a Pope's history is the report of what he did, as a Sovereign Pontiff, for the government of the Catholic Church and the spiritual welfare of the Christian people. Nearly all authors, however, who have written about pope Alexander VI, while carefully gathering the gratuitous assertions of his personal enemies and all the rumors injurious to him, as a man, a cardinal and a temporal prince, have strangely neglected the authentic documents, which report the acts that he performed as a Vicar of Christ ; and, as a consequence, the narration of his spiritual administration of the Church amounts to almost nothing, and there is left a vast historical field still unexplored.

Their only praise of this Pontiff is the silly self-evident statement that he never taught anything opposed to Christian faith. We, however, learned from the Vatican archives the prudent cares he took to preserve intact the doctrine of Christ, confided to his guardianship, to strengthen and restore it in countries, where it was lost or weakened by heresy, and to propagate it to nations that had never before enjoyed its light.

The observance of the laws of God and of the Church was neglected by many at the end of the fifteenth century, and the intervention of the Pope was needed to effect a salutary reform ; but, while others have nothing to say, a well known historian, too easily believed, asserts that no reform could be expected from a man like Alexander VI !

Yet, in the Vatican are preserved the records of hundreds of bulls and briefs of that same Pontiff, abolishing abuses at the Roman court, correcting and reforming religious com-

munities of either sex, not only in Italy but in every province of Christendom, and encouraging all who endeavored to promote a holy life. Ancient Vatican documents clearly show that pope Alexander VI even took great pains to bring about the universal reform, which, shortly after, was worked out by the Council of Trent.

One particular evil, the repression of which we did not find credided to this Pope, is the continual encroachment of temporal princes and powers upon the rights of the Church. He courageously defended, particularly in Belgium, the ancient immunities of the clergy ; and, in several countries, his own right of disposing of ecclesiastical benefices and dignities. Nor did he yield when his supreme authority was attacked by the disobedient monk, Savonarola, aided by the Florentine republic ; but he punished him, although only after long-lasting patience. Much has been written on this last subject; but, to correct various mistakes, we have considered it necessary to expose the whole matter in the light of numerous documents.

The pontifical right and duty of interpreting and applying the laws of Christian marriage has been, an occasion, not only of serious difficulties to pope Alexander VI, but also of many slanders against his memory. The Infidel, Gregorovius, accuses him of " trifling with matrimony, one of the holiest Sacraments "; and others, even Catholic writers, have intimated that simoniacal considerations have led him in the divorces of Ladislas, king of Hungary, and of the French monarch, Louis XII. We have, therefore, carefully looked up the facts, and have been convinced that the Pontiff has scrupulously observed all existing laws that were to govern matrimonial cases.

Few historians have done to pope Alexander VI the justice of admitting that he was a faithful observer of all Christian

laws, but we did not find one to even suppose that he practised and encouraged works of supererogation. Yet, he was a model of piety in the worship of the Blessed Eucharist and in the veneration of the Holy Virgin and of the Saints; and at the Vatican are recorded dozens of his briefs, the sole object of which is to animate the faithful towards a zealous practice of their religion. Of this nature is also the grant of the solemn jubilee of the year 1500.

Guided by the documents of the Vatican Archives, we have tried to report in this third volume the greater part of the various labors which pope Alexander VI performed in his capacity of a Sovereign Pontiff, as a Vicar of Christ ; and we have thus sufficiently established the contention of our general introduction, that, namely, he proved to be a great Pope.

We could not ascertain what part his natural advisers, the College of cardinals, have taken in his acts ; but we know that he consulted them on every important occasion. He took care not to appoint any new members of his council, but men prominent by their learning and virtue, who were likely to remain loyal to him. Only one of these, together with three or four more ancient cardinals, temporarily fell away from him, to join his victorious enemy, king Charles VIII. This one especially caused him much grief and anxiety ; but soon the Pontiff forgave them all, showed them great kindness and bestowed many new favors upon them.

We allow a convenient space in this volume to the various topics of which we here give an inkling ; and hope that the reader may be interested in becoming acquainted with the details, and that he will form a just opinion of the excellence of the most maligned of Roman Pontiffs.

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SUMMARY

Introduction. v
Bibliography. ix
Summary xvii

CHAPTER I.

Alexander VI opposing heresy.

Article I. — Book censure.

Spiritual activity of Alexander VI ignored by history 1
He asks prayers that he may govern the Church well. 2
His first cares were for spiritual interests. 3
Bull " in Coena Domini " against heresy and other crimes. . . 4
Text of the Book-censure of Alexander VI. 5
Alexander's example followed by Kings and Popes 8
He carefully inquired into the doings of heretics 9

Article II. — Alexander's policy towards the Marrani.

Peter de Aranda, bishop of Calahorra, a converted Jew. . . . 9
Accused of forgery, apostasy and heresy. 10
His errors and crimes. 11
The Pope postpones the sentence. 16
de Aranda degraded and incarcerated for life. 16
Was he condemned for the sake of his money? 17
His son escaped prosecution by resigning his dignities. . . . 17
The Jews expelled from Spain. 17
The Spanish inquisition moderated by Alexander VI. 18
The Pope defends archbishop de Talavera against the Spanish inquisition. 19
Convicted Marrani's abuse of the Pope's mercy. 20
Slander of Prescott and of Pastor. 21
Leniency towards the Marrani in the Pontifical States. . . . 22
Slanderous remarks of Sanudo and of Soderini. 25
Alexander clears Pico de Mirandola of the suspicion of heresy. 26

ARTICLE III. — Alexander's acts in regard to the heretics of Bohemia.

Severity embitters, kindness allays heretical hatred. . . . 27
Influence of king Ladislas. Prague sends envoys to Rome. . . 28
Papal legate to Hungary and Bohemia. 29
Privileges granted to the diocese of Prague. 30
Many conversions, but Picardists more fanatical. 31
Diabolism of the Waldesian " Fossarii ". 31
Alexander VI sends learned preachers to them. 32
He cohibits magic in Lombardy. 33

ARTICLE IV. — Alexander's activity in Lithuania.

Schismatic Moscovites fall upon the diocese of Abo. 34
The duke of Lithuania secures peace by accepting for wife the schismatic daughter of the duke of Moscow. 35
The Pope promotes conversions to Church unity. 36
Approves the form of baptism of United Greeks. 37
The Pope answers to the bishop of Wilna a letter from a Greek metropolitan. 39
He writes on the same subject to the duke of Lithuania. . . 42
The metropolitan joins the Greek United Church. 45
The duke of Lithuania asks the Pope's advice regarding his proselytizing schismatic wife. 46
The Pope prescribes separation, but sets no time. 47
The separation remained a threat. 48
Alexander answers to Constantine, king of Georgia, who desires union with the Roman Church. 48
The Pope helps the Bosnians to keep the faith. 49

CHAPTER II.

Propagation of the faith.

ARTICLE I. — In Greenland, Congo and Granada.

When yet a cardinal, Alexander proposes Canutson as bishop of long-lost Greenland. 52
When a Pope, he orders his bulls to be given him free. . . . 52
Alexander supplies newly converted Congo with missionaries. 52
The Pope establishes the ecclesiastical province of Granada. . 53

He aids the archbishop de Talavera and clergy. 54
Means to build churches supplied by the Pope. 55
Friendly discussions and presents conciliate the Moriscos. . . 56
Riots in Granada and revolt in the mountains subdued. . . 57
The Pope encourages expeditions into Africa. 57

Article II. — In the newly discovered West Indies.

The Pope secured Columbus' discoveries to Spain. 60
Imposes the duty of trying to convert the natives. 61
Alexander draws the line between Spain and Portugal. . . . 61
Portugal objects and the Pope issues his fifth bull of extension. 63
Treaty of Tordesillas. 64
The Pope's aim was the conversion of the natives. 64
Was there any priest with Columbus on his first voyage? . . 65
Bernard Boyl, a Minim, superior of the first missionaries. . . 67
Faculties for the clergymen and the people. 69
Indian interpreters. 71
Names of first missionaries of America. 71
Mistakes about de Arenas and Las Casas. 73
Church paraphernalia and other articles procured to the missionaries by the Catholic Kings. 74
Quarrel of Columbus and Boyl, who returns to Spain. . . . 75
Second, third and fourth bands of missionaries. 75
Conversions scarce at first, numerous afterwards. 76
Alexander VI prepares for a Hierarchy in the West Indies. . . 76

Article III. — Fault found with the Pope for " donating " the West Indies.

Did the Pope give one half of the world to Spain, and the other half to Portugal? 78
The grant was simply a confirmation of title. 79
Legal possession was the title. Marmontel's error. 82
The Popes gives with " apostolic power ", because he was requested as Sovereign Pontiff. 83
The Pope did not reduce the Indians to slavery. 83
Grounds of Spanish dominion. 83

Article IV. — Propagation of faith in Portuguese possessions.

In lands of Infidels to be acquired by Emanuel, king of Portugal. 84
First Mass in Brazil. 84
Missions in East India. 85

CHAPTER III.

Reform of the Church.

ARTICLE I. — Necessity of Reform.

Negligence of German bishops. 87
The Roman Court needed reform, yet counted many exemplary prelates. 88
Pagan writers and pious people in Italy. 88
Reform of the Curia accomplished in part. 89
Alexander VI the greatest reformer of the period. 90
He at once orders reforms in England. 91
Soon after he reforms the Franciscan Conventuals. 92

ARTICLE II. — Reform of the Roman Court.

Regulations regarding cardinals. 93
Duties of apostolic notaries, " Taxatores " to be let free, Judges not to accept presents. 94
Severe penalty for injury to a contestant at law 95
Regulations for the Penitentiaries. 96
Revision of rules of the treasury of the Sacred College. . . . 97
Abuses in spite of pope Alexander VI 97
The Pope's Vicar General to reform the diocese of Rome. . . 98

ARTICLE III. — General means of reform.

Alexander favors synods and councils, orders general chapters of Regulars. 99
A council for the reform of Ireland. 99
Councils and synods at the time. 100
Papal nuncios and legates as reformers. 104
Cardinal Pérault to reform Germany. 105
Cardinal d'Amboise, reformer in France 106
Reform commission for Spain. 107
Religious prelates of the archduchy of Austria made inquisitors and reformers of monasteries. 108

ARTICLE IV. — Special deputies for particular reforms.

Reform in the monastery of Cuxan, in Spain. 109
Berthold, abbot of Adelberg, to reform a collegiate church. . . 109
Wm. de Heyck to reform the monastery of Etal. 109
Pietro Delphino reformer of the Camaldalese of Florence . . . 109
Ludovico Turriano ordered to expel incorrigibles. 110
The patriarch of Venice to reform convents. 110

Article V. — Papal reform bulls and briefs.

Against Observantines leaving their house of profession. . . . 112
Against Conventuals admitting Observantines. 114
Allowing the Brothers of St. Paul the Hermit to join the Carthusians only. 115
Bull for the reform of German convents. 115
Efforts to correct Savonarola. 115
Reform of the Benedictines of Cavo. 117
A pseudo reformer of the Franciscans of Tivoli. 117
" Brothers of the Poor Life " regulated. 118
The Pope unites and disunites Cistercian provinces. 119
He threateningly commands the Franciscan general chapter to reform their friars of Assisi. 119
The " Alexandrine reforms " of the Franciscans. 120
Reform of the convent of Assisi. 120
The Minister General stripped of his faculties over the Observantines. 121
The Pope reforms and transforms several convents in Italy. . . 121

Article VI. — Reform in Spain.

Reform of the Conventuals of St. Facundo. 124
Reform of the Benedictine abbey of Montserrat. 125
Ximenez reformer of the Franciscans in Spain. 125
Cardinal de Costa and the Minister General of the Franciscans oppose Ximenez. 127
Papal brief to stop reforms by Ximenez. 127
Better informed, the Pope appoints Ximenez as papal reformer. 129
Emigration of Franciscans to the Moors of Africa. 129
Reform and improvements of Spanish convents. 130
The secular clergy generally poor and good. 131
Bull for the reform of the Universities of Spain. 133
Alexander VI fosters peace between the secular and the regular clergy. 133

Article VII. — Reform in Portugal.

Abolition of the vow of Chastity in two Military Orders. . . . 134
Simple clerics without tonsure deprived of immunity. 135
The Pope orders canonical visitation of all churches. 135
Special duties imposed on suffragan bishops. 136
Reform of the Poor Clares of Lisbon. 137
The Pope suppresses four convents of Oporto, and replaces them by one for Clarisses. 137
Allows to nuns their wish of a stricter rule. 139

Article VIII. — Reform in France.

The Pope decides a lawsuit in favor of the Observantines. . . 139
Reform of the Conventuals in the duchy of Bourbonnais. . . . 139
The Pope protects Conventuals of good will. 141
Rules strictly observed in most convents. 142
A convent of Arc changed into a priory of Observantines. . . 143
A litigating bishop of St. Paul Trois Châteaux. 144
The clergy of Vesprim awarded their dues. 144

Article IX. — Reform in Germany.

The abbey of Vixtring given to the Knights of St. George. . . 145
The community of Egmund rejuvenated. 145
Provincial of reformed Dominicans sustained. 146
Reform of the Augustinians in Windserheim. 147
The Conventuals of Marburg are dismissed. 147
The Conventuals of Fritzlar, ejected, resort to violence. . . . 148
The Conventuals of Leipzig replaced by Observantines. . . . 149
Several more monasteries reformed. 149
The Pope takes care of several convents. 150

Article X. — Reform in England and Ireland.

Benedictine monasteries subjected directly to Rome. 151
English Conventuals reformed. 152
Conventuals of Knocfergus and Athskettin reformed. 153

CHAPTER IV.

Alexander VI favoring dutiful religious.

Reforms, one cause of slandering Alexander VI. 155
Exemption of the Benedictine Sisters of O. L. " de Vegas ". . 156
The Pope establishes the Reformed Congregation of Dominicans in France. 156
Exempts the Cistercians from tithes.. 156
Gives to the Augustinians the sacristy of the papal chapel. . . 156
Unites the monasteries of St. Justina and of Monte Cassino Congregations. 157
Grants great privileges to the Observantines. 158
Exempts from all taxes all Franciscan convents. 158
Fosters the propagation of faithful religious houses 159
Good example and preaching, aims of the extension. 165

Alexander VI confirms the " Apostlebrothers of Poor Life ". . 165
Approves the Military Order of St. Michael. 166
Establishes the Order of Minims. 166
Establishes the Third Order of St. Francis de Paula. 167
Institution of the Congregation of the Annuntiation of the Blessed Virgin. 167
Commencement of St. Magdalen institutions. 168

CHAPTER V.

Attempt at universal reform.

Murder of the duke of Gandia. 171
The Pope appoints a reform commission of six cardinals. . . 171
He co-operates with the commission. 172
Their extensive preparatory labors are preserved. 173
Projects regarding the Pope and the Palace. 174
Projects regarding the cardinals. 177
Projects regarding officials of the Roman Curia. 178
Projects regarding general reform. 178
A programme for the Council of Trent. 181
Introduction to the reform bull. 181
The bull was not issued. False reasons why not. 184
Not a bull, but a Council found by the Commission to be needed for success. 185
Circumstances did not allow the holding of a council. 186

CHAPTER VI.

Defence of ecclesiastical rights.

Danger of national churches. Charles the Bold. 189
King John and grandees of Denmark, partition among themselves, the fattest church dignities. 190
Papal rebuke of John de Honthem, the chancellor of Brabant. . 190
Admonition to the grand chancellor of Austria. 191
Orders to de Honthem's assessors. 192
Warning to the Nobility and Citizens of Brabant. 192
Blame of, and special orders to, the bishop of Liege. 193
Likewise to the abbots of Parc and Affligem. 193
Warning to archduke Maximilian. 194
Requests archduke Philip to uphold church authority. . . . 194
Writes similar letters to four other princes. 195
Alleged answers of archduke Philip to the Pope. 197
Complaints of the duke of Wylack and protection of the archbishop of Colotza. 197
Names judges of clerics plotting against the kings of Spain. . 198

Grants tithes to the Spanish kings for the benefit of religion in Granada, America and Africa. 199
Refuses to the duke of Ferrara a miter for his son. 201
The duke of Lithuania must let the bishop of Wilna confer the benefices of his diocese. 202
The Pope allows the use of the sword to the bishop of Wilna. . 202
Confers dignities in spite of Venice. 203
Avarice and pretentions of Venice irritate the Pope. 204
The Pope refuses a diocese to cardinal Cornaro. 205
Other benefices claimed in vain by Venice. 205
The Pope tries to abrogate the Pragmatic Sanction. 207
Preserves clerical immunity in the duchy of Milan. 207
The consistory grants moneys to emperor Maximilian, but not the recall of cardinal Pérault. 208
Alexander VI protects the lower clergy. 208

CHAPTER VII.

Savonarola.

Article I. — Successes of Savonarola.

Savonarola becomes a Dominican novice. 211
Becomes master of novices and commences to preach. . . . 212
He greatly improves Florence. 213
Elected Prior, he introduces strict observance. 213
San Marco is separated from the province of Lombardy. . . . 214
Dominican houses added to San Marco. 215
The Pope orders Savonarola to preach in Florence. 216
A prophet, Savonarola converses with the Bl. V. Mary. . . . 217
He prophesies the incursion of the French into Italy. 218
His prophecies on Florence and Rome proven false. 219
His promise of the conversion of the Turks. 219
Savonarola at first successful in politics. 220

Article II. — Savonarola disobedient to the Pope.

Opposition to Savonarola. 220
The preacher denounced in Rome is forbidden to preach. . . . 221
He shamefully assails the Roman court. 222
The Pope orders him to come to Rome. 224
Savonarola's reasons for postponing indefinitely. 225
Third papal brief exposes the errors of the Friar. 226
San Marco re-united to the province of Lombardy, Savonarola to be judged by Seb. Maggi, and forbidden to preach. . 228

The Friar defends his doctrines, refuses obedience. 228
Friendly brief ordering Savonarola to Rome and forbidding him to preach, but revoking former orders. 231
Father Lucas protects Savonarola by indicting the Pope. . . . 233
Savonarola ceases preaching, replaced by Dominic da Pescia. . 234
People opposed to him, the Seigniory intercedes for him. . . 234
Invited by the Seigniory, he preaches again. 234
Alexander VI is no Pope, he says, and violently slanders Rome. 235
The Seigniory asks the Pope to approve their schismatic action. 237
The Pope refuses, but tolerates for fear of schism. 238
Savonarola condemned by a Dominican conference. 238
Was Savonarola offered a cardinal's hat? 238
Misery of Florence in spite of Savonarola's prophecies. . . . 240
Savonarola exclusively allowed by the Seigniory to preach. . . 240
The Pope establishes the Tusco-Roman province, and joins San Marco with it. 241
Savonarola refuses to unite with the new province. 243
He dares the Pope and slanders his court. 244
He takes pains to make good his main prophecy. 245
He loses authority in Florence. 245
The friars of San Marco formally refuse to unite with the new province. 246

CHAPTER VIII.

Savonarola excommunicated.

ARTICLE I. — Savonarola calls the censure invalid; the Seigniory defends him.

The Pope waits for an occasion to excommunicate him. . . . 249
Tumult at Savonarola's sermon in the cathedral. 250
His exile is put to vote. 251
Savonarola is excommunicated. 251
Savonarola's encyclical against the censure. 253
His letter on the occasion of Giovanni de Borgia's murder, to rebuke the Pope and defend himself. 255
Florentine officials write to Rome to defend the Friar. 256
The Pope submits the case to the Commission of Reform. . . 256
A new Seigniory intercedes for Savonarola. 257
The friars of San Marco intercede for him. 257
The Pope fearlessly upholds ecclesiastical authority. 258
A new epidemic, etc. further destroy faith in Savonarola's prophecies. 258

ARTICLE II. — Savonarola rebels publicly, protected by schismatic magistrates.

The Friar violates the censure and the Seigniory requests absolution for him. 260
Savonarola writes to the Pope an humble letter but does not yield. 260
Savonarola publicly celebrates. 261
The Seigniory requests him to preach in the cathedral. 262
Savonarola calls the Pope " a broken tool ". 263
He promises to perform miracles. 264
Lecturing to clergymen he grows wild against the Pope. . . . 264
" A Pope can err, but the Friar is infallible ". 265
Savonarola's daring impiety. 266
The Pope threatens Florence with Interdict. 267
Violence and impure language of Savonarola. 269
A Seigniory hostile to him is elected. 269
Forbidden the cathedral pulpit, he grows wild in San Marco against the Pope. 269
The Pope with no sinister intention orders him sent to Rome. . 270
A " Pratica " of magistrates refuses to send him. 270
New threat of an Interdict. 271
Another " Pratica " forbids the Friar to preach, but keeps him in Florence. 275
Fierce letter of the Friar to the Pope. 276

ARTCILE III. — Savonarola preparing a Council against Alexander VI.

Threat of a council, in spite of another censure. 277
Savonarola's erroneous ideas of a Council. 278
He drafts letters to Princes, to have them convoke a general Council. 279
His letter to France intercepted and reported to the Pope. . . 279
Contents of his letters to the princes. 279
The Pope, satisfied with the silencing of Savonarola, promised to let him preach after some time. 281

CHAPTER IX.

End of Savonarola.

ARTICLE I. — The ordeal of fire. — Attack on San Marco.

Francesco di Puglia challenges Savonarola to the ordeal of fire. 283
Dominic da Pescia and Giuliano Rondinelli to take their place. 284
The Seigniory directs the ordeal. 284

The Pope condemns the ordeal of fire. 285
The ordeal, an occasion of dissension, is a failure. 285
Mariano Ughi prevented from preaching at the Cathedral. . . 286
San Marco's church and monastery assailed and defended. . . 287

ARTICLE II. — Savonarola arrested and condemned.

Savonarola arrested with two companions. 287
The Seigniory asks permission to examine the Friar, and general absolution of all censures. 288
The Pope requires ecclesiastical associate judges and that the Friar be delivered to him. 289
Savonarola examined, tortured and condemned. 290
The friars of San Marco undeceived ask pardon and the continuance of their own province. 291
The Pope grants them pardon, but requires their union with the Tusco-Roman province. 292
A " Pratica " decides not to send the Friar to Rome, and asks papal commissaries. 292
Francis Remolino and Gioachim Turriano, Master General of the Dominicans, are sent. 294
They examine Savonarola and report to the Pope. 295
Remolino slandered and vindicated, Turriano praised. 295
Savonarola delivered by them to the civil power. 298
The last hours of the doomed friars were edifying. 299

ARTICLE III. — General remarks about Savonarola.

Does the Church and the World owe him a debt of gratitude? . 299
Was he a precursor of Protestantism? 300
Was he a self-deluded monomaniac? 301
Many Dominicans condemn all their superiors and confreres of that time to defend Savonarola. 302
Praises of St. Francis de Paula and veneration of three other saints for Savonarola. 302
" Savonarola " on pope Benedict XIV's catalogue of persons worthy of canonization? 303
Savonarola died a defeated politician. 304

CHAPTER X.

Alexander VI and Matrimony.

ARTICLE I. — Marriage case of Ladislas, king of Hungary.

Alexander VI grants matrimonial dispensations. 307
He sustains the marriage of the duke of Lithuania. 309

Ladislas of Hungary married to a German lady. 310
Ladislas promises marriage to Beatrix of Naples and rejects her. 311
The Pope sends a legate to Hungary to inquire. 311
He opposes Ladislas's wishes to marry the sister of cardinal Sforza. 312
Ladislas and Beatrix had each a defender in Rome. 312
Efforts of Ferdinand of Naples in favor of Beatrix. 313
The Pope allows Beatrix to bring her case before the Roman tribunal. 314
Ladislas's letter to have the case decided. 315
The Pope decides the marriage to be null and void. 315
Ladislas's first marriage dissolved. 316

Article II. — Divorce and new marriage of Louis XII, king of France.

The Pope accused of simony on this occasion. 317
Divorce and dispensation bargained for favors to Cesar de Borgia ? 317
Bargain for money denied. 318
The case of Louis XII's marriage. 319
Commission to inquire into that marriage. 320
The divorce lawsuit. 321
The sentence : The marriage was null and void. 322
Dispensation to marry Anna of Brittany granted. 323
Untruths of Machiavelli on this occasion. 324
Marriage of Louis XII and Anna of Brittany. 326
The Pope dissolves the marriage of John Corvinus. 326
The Pope dispenses no nun to marry. 327

CHAPTER XI.

Alexander VI promoting piety.

Article I. — Towards the Blessed Sacrament and the Blessed Virgin.

Promotes piety towards the Blessed Sacrament. 329
Towards the Blessed Virgin Mary. 331
He grants indulgences to the visitors of her shrines. 334
The Pope institutes the feast of the Apparition of Christ arisen to his Mother, and of the Presentation of the child Mary in the temple. 335
He renews the pilgrimage of the Blessed Virgin in Rhodes. . . 335
Encourages the recitation of the Holy Rosary. 336
He was the Originator of the " Angelus ". 336

ARTICLE II. — Alexander VI and the Immaculate Conception.

Sixtus IV favors the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. . . 338
Under Alexander VI controversies were renewed, but the doctrine was admitted by Universities. 339
Alexander VI institutes and approves Confraternities of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin. 340
Scandalous discussions cohibited by threats of Alexander VI. . 341
Alexander VI forbids the contestants to speak on the subject before lay people. 342

ARTICLE III. — Saints, H. Relics, Houses of God.

Alexander VI promotes the veneration of Saints.. 343
Fosters the veneration of H. Relics. 345
Alexander blamed for not canonizing saints. 347
He was active in preparing later canonizations. 348
He encourages the restoration of Houses of Worship. 349
To him nothing was small in matters religious. 354

CHAPTER XII.

Alexander VI promotes charity towards the needy.

Usury. The Pope favors the " Monts de piété ". 357
He encourages the redemption of captives. 358
Erects or assists the Hospices of Ancona, Venice, Compostella, Orvieto, Toledo, Lisbon, Toledo again, Santa Maria Maggiore, Windsor, Genoa, Obidos, Pavia, Gandia, and Valencia in France, and he institutes Confraternities to take care of the sick. 360
He encourages the building of a hospital anywhere in Spain. . 364
He places smaller hospitals under the direction of the larger. . 364
He encourages the faithful to help the hospital of Rouen. . . . 365
He assists the Poor Souls in Purgatory. 365

CHAPTER XIII.

Jubilee of the year 1500.

ARTICLE I. — The Jubilee in Rome.

The Jubilee of the year 1500 in Rome. 367
History of the Jubilees. 368
The Pope suspends all plenary indulgences and special faculties. 368

Announces the Roman jubilee. 368
Immediate preparations and solemn publication. 369
Conditions to gain the indulgences and exceptions. 370
The jubilee applicable to the souls in purgatory. 371
Faculties given to St. Peter's Penitentiaries. 371
Opening and closing of the Golden Door. 372
Dispensation in the number of pious visits. 373
The Pope observes the jubilee conditions. 373
The penitentiaries can lessen the number of visits. 375
The Pope attends to the safety of the pilgrims. 375
Ludovico, duke of Milan, murders French pilgrims. 376
The Pope punishes robbers of pilgrims in Rome, and expels the Corsicans from the Pontifical States. 377
The Pope repairs public roads for the pilgrims. 378
Great number of pilgrims in Rome. 378
Regular processions to the Basilicas. 381

ARTICLE II. — Extensions of the Jubilee.

Extensions of the Roman jubilee. 382
Extension to the kingdoms of Hungary and of Poland. 382
To the City and diocese of Faenza and to Gandia. 383
To the principality of Valachia, to Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway Friesland, Prussia. 383
To France. 384
To all Italy and the Cisalpine Franciscan Vicariate. 385
To the diocese of Posen. 385
To Venice and its ultramarine possessions. 386
To Rhodes and other islands of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. 386
To the Archduchy of Austria. 386
To Belgium and the dioceses of Cambrai, Tournay and Besançon. 386
To the Duchy of Lorraine and Bar. 387
To the island of Corsica. 387
To Portugal. 387

ARTICLE III. — Jubilee moneys.

Jubilee moneys destined to war against the Turks. 388
Germany doubts the honesty of the Pope. 389
Pastor denies the Pope's integrity. 390
The Pope leaves the moneys to the emperor, for war against the Turks. 390
Maximilian accepts the moneys, but undertakes no war. . . . 390
Donations in Rome spent on St. Peter's, etc. 391
Jubilee moneys received only in part and late. 392
Moneys spent against the Turks. 392
Cesar de Borgia paid with ordinary revenues. 393

CHAPTER XIV.

Pope Alexander VI and the Sacred College.

Article I. — Creation of Cardinals.

The cardinals, advisers of the Pope. 395
The cardinals created by Alexander VI form a body of eminent, good men. 395
A cardinal promoted August 31st, 1492. 396
Twelve cardinals created September 20th, 1493. 396
Aloysius de Aragonia created " in petto ". 399
Was a bishop of Ceuta made a cardinal ? 399
Wm. Briçonnet, created cardinal January 16th, 1495. . . . 400
Philip of Luxembourg, promoted January 21st, 1495. . . . 400
Four Spanish cardinals, made February 19th, 1496. 401
George d'Amboise promoted September 12th, 1498. 402
Was the Servite Father John made a cardinal ? 402
Three cardinals, created the 16th or 20th of March, 1500. . . 402
Ten cardinals, created September 28th, 1500. 403
Was a cardinal named in petto, in 1501? 405
Nine more cardinals, made May 31st, 1503. 405
Princely recommendations for the cardinalate ignored. . . . 407

Article II. — Rebellion of cardinal Giuliano della Rovere.

Friendly relations between the cardinals and the Pope. . . . 407
Giuliano della Rovere antagonizes the Pontiff from the beginning of his reign. 408
Alexander VI asks the cardinals how to reconcile Giuliano. . . 410
A misrepresentation by Marin Sanudo. 411
Giuliano visits the Pontiff. 413
Death of Ferdinand of Naples and accession of Alfonso. . . . 413
Alfonso of Naples protects Giuliano who sides with his enemy. 413
Giuliano confides Ostia to the Colonna and leaves for France. 414
The Pope captures Ostia. 415
The Colonna recapture Ostia and assail Rome. 415
Giuliano incites Charles VIII to war against Alfonso of Naples and the Pope. 416
Giuliano advises the convocation of a conciliabulum.. 417
Talk about the deposition of the Pope. 417
King Charles VIII defeats Giuliano della Rovere's plans. . . . 419

Article III. — Rebellion of cardinals Sforza, Colonna Savelli and Pérault.

Cardinal Ascanio Sforza disloyal to the Pope. 420
Cardinals Colonna and Savelli leave Rome. 421
Ascanio Sforza follows them. 422
Ascanio excused from returning to Rome. 422
Cardinals Colonna, Savelli and Sforza excommunicated. . . . 422
Ascanio visits the Pope, Cesar de Borgia his hostage. 423
Ascanio and others arrested in Rome. 424
The Pope had given him no security. 425
Why this arrest ? Was attempted murder the cause? 426
The Sacred College vows fidelity to the Pontiff. 428
The prisoners are liberated. 428
Cardinal Pérault, esteemed by the Pope. 429
Pérault deceived by Charles VIII's announcement of a crusade and by the Pope's forged letters to Bajazet. 430

Article IV. — Charles VIII in Rome.

Charles VIII enters Rome with the rebel cardinals. 431
The Pope accused of trifles before the King. 432
Charles VIII concludes a treaty with the Pope. 432
He makes act of obeisance to Alexander VI as to the true Vicar of Christ. 433
Giuliano della Rovere irritated, Ascanio Sforza flees. . . . 434
The rebel cardinals follow Charles VIII to Naples. 434

Article V. — Cardinals Pérault and Sforza reconciled.

Cardinal Pérault is said to have insulted the Pope at the time of his pardon and reconciliation. 435
Pérault is finally undeceived. 436
The Pope greatly favors him. 436
Cardinal Sforza follows his brother again in his change of politics, and asks the Pope's pardon. 438
The bull of Ascanio Sforza's reinstatement. 438
The Pope bestows many favors upon him. 440
Ascanio, helpful to the Pope. 441
When suspected in Rome, he goes to the Colonna. 442

Article VI. — Cardinal Sforza, a captive ; what the Pope did for him.

Cardinals Sforza and Sanseverino did not *flee* from Rome in the year 1498. 442
Conquest of Milan and fate of Ascanio Sforza. 443
The Pope sends an envoy to Venice for his liberation. 445
The Pope consoles and encourages the captive. 446
Venice absolved from the censures incurred by the cardinal's detention. 446
The Pope obtains Ascanio's freedom all over France. 447
Misrepresentations of ambassador Giustinian. 447
The Pope appoints lieutenants for vicechancellor Ascanio. . . 448
He increases his privileges, and allows him to collect his yearly income two years in advance. 448

Article VII. — Reinstatement of cardinal and the nobles Colonna and of cardinal Savelli.

The Pope reinstates the cardinals Colonna and Savelli and their relatives. 449
The two cardinals return to Rome a year later. 451

Article VIII. — Reinstatement and later reconciliation of cardinal Giuliano della Rovere.

Charles VIII demanded the reinstatement of Giuliano and of his brother. 452
Bull of restoration of both della Rovere. 452
A cruel pirate, governor of the fortress of Ostia. 455
The Pope retracts the bull of Giuliano's reinstatement. . . . 455
Consalvo recaptures Ostia for the Pope. 456
Giuliano requests an understanding with the Pope. 456
Agreement confirmed by the Pope. 458
Giuliano in Rome, friendly in France. 458
Closer union between the Borgias and the Rovere. 459
Magnanimity of the Pope towards Giuliano. 459

INDEX OF THE DOCUMENTS

94. The Bull " In Cena Domini ". 465
95. Pope Alexander VI institutes book censorship and orders destruction of bad books. 467
96. Pope Alexander VI gives to the Hospice of St. James of the Spaniards a house forfeited by the renegade bishop of Calahorra. 470
97. Pope Alexander VI revokes favors granted to converted Marrani, because of abuse made of them. 471
98. Pope Alexander VI helps the Swedes to resist the attacks of the schismatic Moscovites. 472
99. Pope Alexander VI reconciles schismatic Georgia with the Church. 473
100. Bull " Inter Cetera divine ", of May 4th, 1493, ordering holy faith to be taught in America, and drawing the line of demarcation between the Spanish and the Portuguese discoveries. 475
101a. Pope Alexander VI grants faculties to the first American missionaries. 480
101b. Alexander VI grants tithes to the kings of Spain, and provides for the support of priests and bishops in the West Indies. 484
102. Pope Alexander VI confirms to the king of Portugal the territory which he may acquire from the Infidels. . . 485
103. Pope Alexander VI charges his nuncio in England with the reform of all churches and monasteries in that country. 487
104. Pope Alexander VI restricts the admission of penitentiaries. 488
105. Faculties granted to cardinal George d'Amboise to make reforms in France. 490
106. Pope Alexander VI orders the reformed Spanish convents to be placed under the authority of religious Orders of Strict Observance. 491
107. Pope Alexander VI orders the reform of the universities of Spain. 492
108. Pope Alexander VI abolishes the vow of chastity of the Knights of Christ and of de Avis. 493
109. Pope Alexander VI orders the archbishop of Braga to make the visitation of his province. 496
110. Pope Alexander VI abolishes four convents and replaces them with a new one of regular observance. . . . 497
111a. Letter of the priors of the reformed Dominican houses to cardinal Pérault. 500
111b. Letter of Maximilian to Joachim Turriano, Master General of the Order of Preachers. 501

112. Introduction to pope Alexander's projected bull of reform. 502
113. Pope Alexander's rebuke of John de Honthem, chancellor of Brabant. 503
114. Pope Alexander VI reproves the bishop of Liege for neglecting the defence of the church rights. 504
115. Brief of pope Alexander VI to archduke Maximilian. . . 506
116. Brief of pope Alexander VI to archduke Philip. 506
117. Institution of a tribunal to punish disloyalty to king Louis XII. 507
118. Ferdinand I, king of Naples, calls Jofre de Borgia a nephew of pope Alexander VI. 509
119. Progeny and heritage of Cesar de Borgia. 509
120. The Seigniory of Florence begs the Pope to retain Savonarola to preach in their city. 512
121. Pope Alexander VI calls Savonarola to Rome, to give an account of his doctrine. 513
122. Savonarola excuses himself from going to Rome. . . . 514
123. The Pope suspends Savonarola from preaching and reunites the convent of San Marco with the province of Lombardy. 516
124. Pope Alexander VI conditionally revokes his former briefs and threats against Savonarola. 518
125. Letter of Pietro Delphini to Pietro Barrotius, bishop of Padua, about Savonarola. 520
126. Pope Alexander VI institutes the Tusco-Roman Congregation. 521
127. Brief of Excommunication of Savonarola. 524
128. Pope Alexander VI threatens Florence with interdict. . . 526
129. Florence threatened with interdict a second time. . . . 528
130. Answer of Pope Alexander VI to the repentant friars of San Marco. 532
131. Report of Joachin Turriano, Master General of the Dominican Order and of Francis Remolino J. U. D. to pope Alexander VI on Jerome Savonarola and his accomplices. 533
132. A commission appointed to examine and declare the invalidity of the first marriage of king Louis XII. . . . 536
133. Cardinal Philip of Luxemburg also named a judge of Louis XII's first marriage. 538
134. Sentence of nullity of marriage between Louis XII and Jeane de Valois. 539
135. Pope Alexander VI grants a plenary indulgence to all visiting the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, in the church of the Minerva. 540
136. Pope Alexander VI forbids mutual condemnation of preachers on the Conception of the Blessed Virgin. . . 542
137. Both Dominicans and Franciscans forbidden to speak of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin before lay people. 543
138. Highways to be kept safe for pilgrims to Rome. 545

139. The Diet of Nuremberg accepts the Pope's condition, and allows the publication of the Jubilee in Germany. . . 548
140. Maximilian encourages the Jubilee publication, but claims its revenues. 549
141. Alfonso, king of Naples, takes the protection of cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, in his contract with the Pope. . 550
142. Absolution and reinstatement of cardinal Ascanio Maria Sforza. 550
143. Pardon and reinstatement of the cardinals and of the barons Colonna and Savelli. 553
144. Apostolic confirmation of an accord between the Pope and cardinal Giuliano della Rovere. 558
145. Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere to make act of solemn obeisance to pope Alexander VI for and in the name of king Louis XII. 559
146. Pope Alexander VI tries to dissuade Louis XII from invading the duchy of Milan. 560
147. Instructiones datae ab Alexandro Papa VI Reverendo Episcopo Tiburtino ad Dominium Venetorum Oratori delegato, pro liberatione Reverendissimi D. Cardinalis Ascanii Vicecancellarii Venetis detenti. 562

CHAPTER I.

Alexander VI opposing heresy.

ARTICLE I. — BOOK CENSURE.

So numerous and varied were the interests which claimed the attention and activity of pope Alexander VI, that, should we try to relate in a chronological order the deeds of his busy reign, we could not help creating in our own mind and in the minds of our readers such a growing confusion that it would become impossible to form a distinct estimate of the efficiency and results of his twofold administration. It is necessary, therefore, to divide his official acts into two classes, at least ; into the ones, namely, that he performed in his capacity of a temporal Sovereign and those which he accomplished as a Supreme Pontiff.

Of the latter class of pope Alexander's achievements little is to be found in printed literature, and, were it not for the slander of simony, that necessarily supposes some spiritual transactions, his history, as of a Pope, would almost be a blank.

Most historians, intent only upon fastening on him the reputation of immorality and of other vices, and, judiciously, not expecting to find in his papal constitutions and decrees any argument in favor of their unholy purpose, have naturally not paid attention to his constant labors for the honor and extension of holy religion and for the salvation of souls. Some have even misused their consequent ignorance to accuse

the Pontiff of totally neglecting the spiritual welfare of the Church.

Gregorovius [1] remarks that already the Jesuit, Mariana, did not call Alexander VI a Pope, but only a President of church ceremonies. Nardi [2] says that he appeared to be free of all cares attached to his pastoral office. Von Reumont [3] asserts more pointedly yet that all the duties of his spiritual dignity lay outside his sphere of action, and that it was, therefore, but a trifling matter, if he had not the least knowledge of religious functions, or, as the Encyclopedia Britannica [4] expresses it, if he was untrained to the ecclesiastical profession.

Suffice it to answer to the last incidental slur, that those writers evidently were ignorant of cardinal de Borgia's didactical writings and of the fact that he was an acknowledged authority on rubrics and customs of papal functions [5]. They were ignorant also of the following facts, which profusely refute their main crimination.

In the letters of announcement of his accession, pope Alexander VI begged prelates, princes and people to pray and order prayers to be said for him. And, what special favors was he anxious to obtain from God? He requested cardinal d'Aubusson to solicit for him the grace of governing the Church for God's glory; the princes were to obtain for him divine assistance in the performance of his duties towards the flock confided to his care; the archduke, Sigismund of Austria, and the people of Terni were asked to pray that the Lord God might help his lowliness in conducting the Church for his divine honor and glory, for the exaltation of the faith,

1. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 410.
2. Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 191.
3. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 249.
4. Art. Alexander VI.
5. Burchard, Diar., t. I, p. 486, 487.

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the extirpation of heresies and for the peace and happiness of the Christian people [6]. He thus commenced his reign with a desire or resolution to faithfully perform, above all, the duties of his spiritual dignity.

At his first consistory, on the 31st of August, 1492, he proposed to the cardinals a great many projects that he formed already for upholding and increasing the pontifical authority and for restoring churches in the City [7].

Ferdinand, king of Spain, indirectly testifies that pope Alexander continued to take a benevolent care of religious interests. St. Francis de Paula had sent to Rome a certain Father Boyl, a friar of his newly approved religious Order, to obtain from the Pontiff some special concessions. Ferdinand wrote, on the 21st of October, 1495, to his envoy at the Roman court, saying that he had himself requested His Holiness to listen kindly to the friar's petition and to grant it, " as he is used to do in similar cases relating to the progress of the Christian religion or the worship of God " [8].

Whilst, indeed, no religious concern, how unimportant soever it might appear, failed to enlist his attention, the greater portion of his time, solicitude and labor, was taken up by the great interests of the Christian religion : its integrity of faith and its propagation, the union of all its members with its head, Jesus Christ, represented by his Vicar on earth ; the eternal salvation of its faithful through a moral and pious life, and the defense of Christian society against the cruel assaults of its enemies.

We have noticed how careful cardinal de Borgia was, as bishop of Valencia, to debar from his diocese all novelties of doctrine, and Cherrier [9] moderates a vicious remark by stating

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6. See Document 87.
7. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. B. B. B. I. 13 : Porcii Comment.
8. Boletin de la real Academia de la Historia, t. XIX, p. 217.
9. Histoire de Charles VIII, t. I, p. 265.

as a noteworthy fact, that he did not alter the faith, when he was a Pope !

To oppose the corruption of the apostolic teachings and the introduction or spread of heresies, pope Alexander VI wisely made use of preventive means.

Every year he put the faithful on their guard against the dangers of false doctrine, by solemnly promulgating, on Holy Thursday, his bull " In Coena Domini ", in which he denounced by name the heresies of the time and excommunicated and anathematized all the heretics of any kind, together with all those who might encourage, shelter or defend them [10]. He also was the first of the Roman Pontiffs to issue an important decree, concerning the censorship of books, that was to preclude in the future the insidious attacks of an indifferent or heretical press, which was scattering among the people tenets and teachings subversive of Christianity.

The art of printing was an honorable, lucrative and flourishing one in Rome during pope Alexander's time. Until he died, the Roman press was, under the watchful eyes of learned prelates and of the Pontiff himself, an almost unalloyed boon for science and religion. In the country of its birth, however, printing became at an early date a means of mental and moral corruption. Already in the year 1486, Berthold von Henneberg, archbishop of Mainz, published a censorship of new books for his province, in order to prevent the people confided to him from being led astray by mistranslations and falsifications of Holy Scripture and by immoral literature [11]. This measure had but a partial success, and pope Alexander VI was informed of the evils caused, mainly in Germany, through printers uncontrolled by episcopal authority. Al-

10. See Document 94, § 2. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 61.

11. Joseph Weiss, Berthold von Henneberg, s. 46, 48.

though of a tolerant disposition, he issued, on the 1st of June, 1501, his decree " Inter multiplices nostrae solicitudinis ", which was to be an example for all bishops and a strict law for those to whom it was directed. Its preciseness and severity are explained by its special circumstances. The document is as follows :

After stating that his duty is to foster and extend to posterity what is salutary and laudable, and to extirpate what is injurious and impious, the Pope remarks that, as it is doing a signal service to mankind to publish to the people of to-day and of future times that which improves knowledge and good morals, as is mostly done through writings wherewith truth itself is bound up ; so also it is pernicious and most inimical to the human race to communicate to the multitudes, by means of literature, what is harmful to sane doctrine, honest morality and orthodox religion ; all the more because the thoughts of frail humanity are found to be more inclined to evil than to good. Hence, he continues, as the art of printing is most useful on account of its easy multiplication of approved and beneficial works; so it would also be very detrimental, if its masters should make a wrong use of it by indiscriminately printing pernicious writings. It is with good reason, therefore, that the printers should be compelled by proper measures to abstain from printing what is known to be contrary or adverse to the Catholic faith, or is likely to create scandal in the minds of the faithful.

We, therefore, who hold on earth the place of Him who descended from heaven to illumine the intellect of man and to dispel the darkness of error, have learned through faithful reports that a great many books and tracts containing various errors and pernicious tenets, hostile also to the Christian religion, have been printed and continue to be occasionally printed day after day in divers parts of the world, and prin-

cipally in the provinces of Cologne, Mainz, Treves and Magdeburg. Wishing to provide without further delay against this detestable plague, as We are obliged by our pastoral office to do, We hereby strictly forbid, with apostolic authority, to all and each of the followers of the said art, living in the above-named provinces, to the printers and to all who in any manner are at their services and work in any capacity at the art of printing, to dare print or order to be printed in the future any books, tracts or writings of any kind, without first consulting thereon our venerable brethren, the archbishops of Cologne, Mainz, Treves and Magdeburg, their vicars general in spiritual matters or their officials, and obtaining their special and express permit, which is to be given free. And this our prohibition is binding under the penalty of excommunication " latae sententiae ", which they shall be known to have incurred by the fact itself of acting to the contrary, and also of a pecuniary fine to be imposed at the discretion of the said archbishops, vicars general and officials in their respective provinces, and to be exacted by them and applied to the apostolic treasury.

We burden the consciences of the same archbishops, vicars and officials with the charge of carefully examining, or ordering able Catholic men to examine, what is to be printed, before granting such permit, and of seeing to it that nothing should be printed which is contrary to the orthodox faith, is impious or scandalous.

And, since it would not be enough to take measures against future evil printing, unless the publications already made of erroneous, impious and scandalous writings be suppressed, We command with above-mentioned authority to the same archbishops, vicars and officials that, namely, each one of them in his said province, shall notify and require, in our

name, all and each of the printers and other persons of whatever dignity, station, degree, rank, condition or preeminence they may be, to draw up and surrender to them respectively, within the time set at their discretion, without fraud or deceit, under penalty of the like excommunication " latae sententiae " and of the pecuniary fine as above-said, all catalogues of printed books and tracts of whatsoever description, and the printed books and tracts themselves which the above-said archbishops, vicars or officials, or one of them should have judged or declared to contain passages contrary to the Catholic faith or hostile, impious, scandalous or ill-sounding. And We order the same prelates to endeavor by any other means, which they may consider as convenient, to have such printed books brought to them, and to be burned ; and to forbid with our authority, under similar censures and fines, anyone to dare read or keep them ; nor shall they neglect to carefully inquire through what persons' doings such books have been printed, and for what reason they have acted thus to the detriment of the Catholic faith which they profess ; and whether these originators themselves are suspected of any heresy.

And We authorize the same prelates to restrain any contradictors and rebels, whatever may be their dignity, station, degree, order or condition; communities also, universities and any colleges, and this by excommunication, suspension and interdict, and by other censures and ecclesiastical penalties, their aggravation and re-aggravation, without appeal ; and, if need be, to invoke the secular authority, to which We concede one-half of the said pecuniary fines, in order to obtain its more diligent assistance. Then, after setting aside all pontifical privileges that might interfere in the execution of the present decree, and prescribing the mode of authenticating copies of this bull, the Pope concludes by exhorting the

archbishops, vicars general and officials, for the love of the faith and of the salvation of souls, to prove themselves to be so diligent and ingenious in this concern, that they may obtain from God the reward of everlasting life and deserved thanks from himself [12].

This edict was not without visible and lasting results in checking the spirit of rebellion against both the dogmatic and the moral teachings of the Church, which were ever more widely assailed in the publications of the immoral neo-pagans and degraded Christian sectaries.

Several bishops and even temporal rulers soon followed the example of pope Alexander VI. By an ordinance, dated at Toledo, July 8th, 1502, it was decreed, Prescott says [13], that, " since many of the books sold in the kingdom were defective, or false, apocryphal, or abounding in vain and superstitious novelties, it was therefore ordered that no book should hereafter be printed without special license from the king, or some person regularly commissioned by him for that purpose ". The names of the commissioners then follow, consisting mostly of ecclesiastics, archbishops and bishops, with authority, respectively, over their several dioceses. Pope Leo X, by a bull of the 4th of May, 1515, and approved by the council of Lateran, the following year [14], renewed and developed the book censorship of his predecessor and extended it to the whole Church.

Pope Alexander VI was solicitous to keep constantly well informed of the doctrines, conduct and propagandism of the various sects. He not only paid attention to the reports of zealous bishops and of his ordinary envoys and legates, but commissioned at times men, specially fitted for the purpose,

12. See Document 95.
13. Ferdinand and Isabella, p. 352, or vol. II, p. 205.
14. Bullar. Roman., Constit. Leonis X. XIIa.

to go among them, and then acquaint him even with minor details, so as to enable him to act with justice and discretion. Thus, in the year 1501, he arranged with king Louis XII to send into Dauphiné Lawrence Burellus, bishop of Sisteron, and Thomas Paschale, official of Orleans, to report on the manner of living, the teachings and morality of the Waldensian heretics [15].

ARTICLE II. — ALEXANDER'S POLICY TOWARDS THE MARRANI.

Notwithstanding his vigilance, the Pontiff was deceived for several years, even at home, by a class of heretics, the Marrani, who were growing in numbers. For the sake of greater tolerance and security, many Jews left Spain for Italy and Rome, some of whom had simulated conversion to Christianity and been baptized, but who secretly continued in their superstitious belief and practices. For a long time they remained unmolested, under the protection of one of their number, Pedro de Aranda, who had contrived to gain the good will of pope Innocent VIII and had been named bishop of Calahorra.

The father of this prelate, Gonzales Alfonso, was suspected of having died a judaizing renegade, and the sincerity of his conversion was a question pending before the Spanish inquisitors of Valladolid. The bishop, his son, appealed to the Pope, who submitted the case to two special judges, and these rendered, as had been desired, a favorable verdict [16]. The ordinary tribunal, however, found sufficient reasons to

15. Dion. Samarthan., Gallia Christiana, t. I, p. 500, from Jean d'Autun.

16. Stef. Ticozzi, Storia della Inquisitione di Spagna di Llorente compendiata, vol. I, p. 347.

suspect the bishop also of heresy and apostasy, but he eventually succeeded in clearing himself of the charges [17].

Pedro de Aranda had insinuated himself also into the good graces of pope Alexander VI, who had appointed him to the honorable office of majordomo of the pontifical palace. Even his illegitimate son, Alfonso Solares de Aranda, had been made a prothonotary, a scriptor and a papal secretary. Yet, in spite of this dignity and of the pontifical favors his behavior was such, that he was, at first privately, accused before the Pope of heresy and judaizing, and finally was taken in custody on the 21st of April, 1498 [18]. He was, on the 6th of July, formally accused, in full consistory, of the crime of falsifying papal documents, of apostasy and heresy and of other grievous misdeeds. The Pontiff, remembering that the bishop of Calahorra had been suspected of similar offenses, incarcerated and examined on a previous occasion, detained him within the Vatican walls, sequestered all his belongings and sent away his son to Perugia. As a just and dutiful Pastor, he also appointed, to inquire into the criminations, a special commission to consist of Peter Isvalies, bishop of Reyna and governor of Rome, Eggert Dürkop, bishop of Schleswig and auditor of the Camera tribunal, and Paul de Mondia, master or theologian of the sacred palace, who were afterwards to make their report to the Consistory [19].

When first appearing before them, the bishop protested that, should a heretical word against the Holy Trinity or the Catholic faith escape his mouth, it would not express a thought of his heart and that he revoked it in advance. He also requested advocates and attorneys, and was given the

17. Ibid., Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXVI, 10 : Memorabilia Rerum Consistor., fo 7vo.

18. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 459.

19. Bibl. Barberin., ubi supra ; Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 494.

ones whom he named, among whom was Camillo de Beneimbene.

On Friday, the 16th of November, 1498 [20], the Pope had gathered the members of the Sacred College to hear the conclusions of the special inquisitors in the case of his accused majordomo. We here translate the record of the proceeding as it is found in the Roman Barberini library.

The commission had found the bishop to be guilty of various crimes, namely, of heresy, irregularity, simony, violation of ecclesiastical liberty and forgery, as it all was evident from the depositions of the witnesses examined.

The governor Isvalies read the report to the sacred consistory and he said, first in regard to heresy, that twenty-three witnesses, some of whose testimonies he read, had been heard, and proved that the bishop was a heretic with ill feelings towards the Blessed Trinity and especially the Son and the Holy Ghost, that in many points he differed from our Mother, the Catholic Church, and that he had been branded as a heretic in the city and diocese of Calahorra.

He was in the habit of saying that we should not trust in God, unless some deposit had been made ; and, about this, four witnesses had been questioned, some of whose answers were read.

At the end of the Psalms he did not say the usual Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, but omitted the words, to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, saying only : Glory be to the Father Holy ; and on this particular, the governor said, four other witnesses had been examined, and he read some of their testimonies.

Again, the bishop signed himself not with the sign of the cross, as it befits a Christian, but with the sign of a Tau, Te,

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20. Burchard, Ibid. — Stef. Tizzi, ubi supra, mistakes in giving the date as the 14th.

as the Jews do ; and on this point four witnesses had been examined, several of whose depositions were read.

While often telling falsehoods, he affirmed them as being as true as God is true ; and hereupon eighteen witnesses had been questioned, and many of their answers were read.

He jeered at the Christians that would visit the seven churches and other places of piety, to obtain indulgences and forgiveness of their sins, or would kiss the altars ; and he said that there was no authority for that, and that he could not forgive sins ; and the witness, Peter de Heredia, deposed that he had heard the bishop of Calahorra say that the steel of the holy lance had been sent by the Turk to impose upon the Christians ; and on this count five witnesses had been examined.

The bishop would, on a day on which he was to celebrate Holy Mass, eat and drink before celebrating, and when people blamed him for it, he answered that, being a bishop, he did not sin thereby nor break the fast ; and also on this particular four witnesses had been questioned.

He had compelled a certain priest who had taken breakfast to celebrate and pronounce the words of the consecration over the host, and then to put the same host with the non-consecrated altar bread ; and witnesses had been heard about this crime.

He also ridiculed the faith of the Christians, saying that they were too credulous ; and hereon three witnesses had been examined, and some of their answers were read.

Neither did he believe in Holy Scripture, but rejected, as fictions and dities, several passages of the books of Job and of the prophets, and denied that St. John the Evangelist had written the Apocalypse ; as it appeared from the testimony of eleven witnesses, some of which were read.

He never kept in his room any images of Our Lord Jesus

Christ, of the Blessed Virgin or of any saint, and asserted that it is not allowed to have such pictures in places of relaxation ; and on this two witnesses had been questioned.

Again, he had ordered the destruction of certain images of Our Savior, of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of St. John ; declaring that he did so by command of His Holiness, which was false ; and he called those pictures dirty and gloomy things ; and on this count two witnesses had been examined, and their statements were read.

Furthermore, during Holy Week and on Fridays and Saturdays he ate meat, although he was a robust man, and without any infirmity. And he associated with the Jews and the Marrani, condemned for heresy, and gave them help and protection. On this item fourteen witnesses had been examined, and some of their statements were read.

At the mention of the Marrani, Paul de Mondia interrupted Isvalies in reading the report. We shall notice him later on.

The governor went on and stated that the same bishop had the habit of cursing the Catholic Kings of Spain, because they had condemned to the fire some Marrani, whom he called good Christians, and added that the kings made all those inquisitions and persecutions against them, for the purpose of stealing their money. On this particular eight witnesses had been questioned and some of their testimony was read.

He prayed in the hebrew fashion and language, and made his confession towards the walls, as the Jews do ; and two witnesses had been examined hereon and their statements were read.

Again, he observed the Sabbath, ordering that no servant should curry the mules or do any other work, but should leave it till the next Lord's day ; and on this subject five witnesses had been examined.

Likewise, he was in the habit of having his chickens and

other animals slaughtered according to the Jewish custom ; and about this seven witnesses had been questioned and some of their statements were read.

He ordered his viands for the Sabbath to be cooked on Friday, and on the Sabbathday would admit nobody to his room except a certain appointed chamberlain ; and hereon twelve witnesses had been heard and some of their testimony was read.

The governor, Isvalies, also stated the bishop to be irregular [21], because he had violently struck many clerics and priests even to the effusion of blood, thus incurring excommunication " latae sententiae ", and had afterwards taken part in divine services, and celebrated without any absolution ; and about this ten witnesses had been examined and some of their testimony was recited.

He also beat, to the flowing of blood, several priests and clerics even during the solemnities of Holy Mass, and, after he had severely beaten, among others, one certain priest, he not only said that he did not sin by such maltreatment neither incur excommunication nor need absolution, because he was a bishop, but he joined in divine service and officiated. Two witnesses had been questioned on this subject.

Further on, to prove that the bishop was guilty of simony, Isvalies reported that he was not willing to confer Holy Orders or other sacraments and refused to consecrate churches or to reconcile them, unless he should have received the money first or, at least, the promise of payment ; that he sold the benefices vacant in his diocese, and that he was publicly detested in the city and the whole diocese of Calahorra. On this count six witnesses had been examined and the statements of some of them were read.

Isvalies also stated that the bishop was a rebel against the

21. I. e. Unfit to perform any ecclesiastical functions.

holy apostolic See, in opposing ecclesiastical liberty ; for he admitted neither priests ordained in Rome, nor apostolic papers ; neither did he allow clerics who had received benefices from the apostolic See to take possession of them ; he even drove away their agents and imprisoned them, and then exacted money before he would set them free. And on this particular there had been four witnesses examined and some of their statements were read.

Moreover, he tormented his subjects with interdicts and ecclesiastical censures to extort money, and he imposed on them new contributions without any legitimate cause ; and hereon eight witnesses had been questioned.

Again, he forbade confessors to administer the Sacraments to those who would not pay his tithes of wool and cheese, although he had lost his suit in that matter before the tribunal of the Rota. On this count six witnesses had been heard, and some of their statements were read.

The governor, finally, read a part of the proceedings made against the bishop about the crime of forgery ; and first, how he had caused two documents to be falsified : one to the detriment of a certain Peter Simenes, and the other in regard to his son's relinquishment of benefices, when entering a religious Order. He had tried by every possible artifice to obtain signatures, although in vain. In regard to the first paper two witnesses had been examined, and only one regarding the second.

Besides these, another document had been forged by his orders about the income of St. James's hospice of the Spaniards, and he had by fraud mislead a notary public to sign it instead of some other paper, for the validation of which he had been requested. On this particular five witnesses had been examined.

After this report of the commission had been read, the said

governor stated that ten days had been granted to the above-named bishop of Calahorra for his reply to the various counts in his defense, besides all other judiciary limitations. He related how the bishop had taken exceptions, to which the procurator of the public treasury had replied, and how a number of arguments had been brought forth on either side.

The Holy Father then spoke and said that it was his intention to continue the case, and that all legitimate means of defense should be allowed to the bishop, so that he might take care of his interests. He said that he was not willing to proceed farther with the matter on that day, but only wanted the cardinals to consider it well for the present, and that, later on, the judges themselves should vote on it, and, after the meaning of their votes should have been well understood, then the cardinals also should cast their votes, according to custom.

Such is the record of the Barberini manuscript [22].

Either from his natural inclination to mercy or from lingering kindness towards an undeserving favorite, the Pontiff thus delayed, but did not frustrate justice. Burchard relates that, with the advice of the Most Reverend cardinals, pope Alexander VI finally condemned the prevaricating prelate, who, in reality, was and had likely never been but a shrewd, unscrupulous Jew. He deposed and degraded him from the episcopal dignity and from every Holy Order, and commanded him to be led to the fortress of Sant'Angelo and incarcerated for life. To the relief of hundreds, this punishment put an end to long years of injustice and of crimes against society and religion. Here Peter de Aranda died some time after [23].

In the presence of these facts it is provoking to hear an

22. Cfr. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 494, t. III, p. 14, who states that each of the one hundred witnesses called, even for the defense, had testified against the bishop either wholly or in part.

23. Ticozzi, Storia della Inquis. Compendiata, vol. I, p. 347.

almost contemporary diarist, a hostile Venetian, and a modern publisher, namely, Marin Sanuto [24] and Thuasne [25] assert and repeat that the bishop of Calahorra was condemned as a heretic, while his real crime was to have plenty of money, which the Pope wanted for himself, of course !

According to the laws of the time, Peter de Aranda had forfeited to the papal treasury his ill-gotten goods, but the Pontiff mercifully employed a portion of them for the convict's support, allowing him one or two servants to provide him with what he might need [26]. Another portion, to wit, a house that the bishop had bought in the City, he gave to a charitable institution, to the Spanish Hospice of St. James, for the benefit of its guests [27].

Alfonso Solares de Aranda, the prothonotary, relegated to Perugia, had probably been his father's accomplice, and was also summoned before the papal tribunal ; but he appointed attorneys, who resigned in his name all his dignities and offices, the loss of which seems to have satisfied public justice [28].

The prosecution of bishop de Aranda was the most notorious of the many cases of apostasy of Jews converted in the Spanish peninsula, which were frequently brought to the attention of the Roman Pontiff.

The Israelites had been rejected as the chosen people of God, nay, as a people at all, and were destined to be exiles in every land, the unsuspected witnesses to the divinity of the Christian religion. They did not in Spain, as nowhere else, associate with the Catholic nation, but were considered as a drain on the country's wealth and as allies of the hated Moors. The King issued decrees for their expulsion, yet

24. Diarié, t. I, col. 1014.
25. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 495, footn.
26. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 494.
27. See Document 96.
28. Burchard, ubi supra, p. 495.

promising protection and citizenship to all who would embrace Christianity and become patriotic Spaniards. This was, in reality, an incentive to deceit and hypocrisy ; and many professed Christianity, but changed neither their religious nor civic convictions. Thereupon followed the establishment of a special tribunal, the Spanish Inquisition, to punish simulated conversion, apostasy and consequent evils. From a political standpoint, this institution was a necessity [29]; but it was not free from gave defects. The Kings, to the exclusion of the bishops, and sometimes, in spite of the Popes, appointed the inquisitors ; the proceedings of the court were mostly secret ; its judgments sometimes unjust and their executions more than once pitiless. Since matters of faith and morals were objects of inquest and the whole organisation was apparently a religious concern, the Roman Pontiffs were expected to allow and assist it. However, they often incurred the displeasure or even the blame of the kings of Spain and of Portugal, by restricting its jurisdiction and redressing its abuses.

We have noticed already the disposition of cardinal de Borgia, when, in A. D. 1481, he limited the power of the inquisitors in the province of Valencia. As a Pope, he issued several briefs to help or direct the royal Inquisition in the attainment of its honest purposes, and may, as in the appointment of Deza to the office of inquisitor general, have placed too much confidence in the pressing arguments of the Catholic Kings, though he always retained a right of superior authority over the Institution in Spain, and Llorente says [30], that he continued to receive in Rome and to hear those who, condemned in Spain, had recourse to his tribunal. Llorente declares that, whatever may be objected, the policy of pope

29. A. Hubei ap. Kirchenlexicon Art Inquisition. II vol. 774.

30. Ticozzi, Llorente, Storia Critica della Inquisitione di Spagna compendiata, vol. I, p. 327.

Alexander VI resulted in the advantage of humanity, and saved the honor and possessions of many who appealed to him.

The Grand Inquisitor Torquemada, accused of cruelty, was compelled to send a companion to Rome three times, in order to justify his conduct. For the sake of the Kings, he was not deposed, but his power was almost nullified by a brief of the 23rd of June, 1494, whereby the Pontiff, under pretext of his age, designated four bishops as his coadjutors, each having the same authority as he had, and the right of continuing the cases commenced by him [31].

Ticozzi relates [32], after Llorente, how an inquisitor, Lucero, construed the charity and mildness shown towards the Moriscos by Ferdinand de Talavera, archbishop of Granada, into a reason for instituting inquisitorial proceedings against him. In vain did the venerable prelate have recourse to the King, to whom he had rendered great services ; but fortunately the charge of taking the preparatory information was confided by Deza, the inquisitor general, to Ximenez, the archbishop of Toledo, who informed the Pontiff of the commission he had received. As soon as pope Alexander VI, who had himself named Talavera to the see of Granada, heard of the outrage, he ordered his nuncio, Giovanni Ruffo, to call the case before his own tribunal and to forbid Deza to proceed any further with it. The nuncio reported the facts to Rome, and the Pope proclaimed the innocence of the saintly archbishop.

He not only protected the faithful Christians against abuses of the Spanish Inquisition, but he also showed mercy to those who performed the penances justly imposed, as it is seen from a bull of the 21st of March, 1496, by which he granted to several penitents of Cordova, and to their children the right of

31. Ibid., p. 362.

32. Ibid., vol. II, p. 42.

being alsolved from all dishonor and disability which, in consequence of their condemnation, would have remained with them for life and have precluded them from all offices of trust or honor [33].

Clemency and mildness, as we shall notice presently, were the principal means which pope Alexander VI used more freely still in his own States and City to bring to a sincere conversion the Marrani who had escaped from the rigors of the Spanish Inquisition. Yet, while protecting innocent persons and relieving repentant sinners, he did not, on the other hand, shield the guilty against lawful prosecution nor encourage the commission of further misdeeds.

Numerous pontifical favors, of which the ones just related are examples, were put to baneful use in Spain. Many pardoned convicts lost the salutary fear of severe penalties, and, one after another, became recidivists, while others claimed immunity from the tribunals, boasting of having received papal briefs to that effect. As a consequence of their pernicious example, more Jewish converts relapsed into judaism, and even the administration of public justice was, at last, rendered difficult or impossible, as appears from an instance here subjoined. The kings, therefore, petitioned the Pontiff to rescind his letters of dispensation, rehabilitation and exemption, which he had issued in favor of such as had been definitively condemned in Spain or were doing public penance. The Pope protested against the abuse of his mercy, declaring that he readily did all he could, with the help of God, to prevent scandals or bad examples from taking place ; and, on the 29th of August, 1497, he fully granted the royal request, in regard to all such concessions made in the past, though preserving his freedom of action for the future [34].

33. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I ad X, lib. VII, Regest. 873, f° 488.

34. See Document 97.

We may on this occasion expose a calumny of Prescott [35], who accuses the Roman See of selling dispensations from the penalties incurred by those who had fallen under the ban of the Inquisition, and of afterwards revoking them at the instance of the Castilian court. Prescott has no authority to quote here, while several contemporaries indicate that the recipients of papal mercy paid nothing, except, perhaps, for the flimsy blouse which we shall see worn by numbers of them at a penitential procession in Rome. Pastor [36] strangely attributes to political considerations both the protection of the Spanish Jews by pope Alexander VI and the so-called excessive concessions of this Pope to the monarchs of Spain against them. He does not allow him any religious or moral motives, even in matters of religion, even when such are clearly expressed.

One more particular case may give us a fair idea of the policy followed by the Pontiff in his relations with the tribunals of the Spanish Inquisition. A lady, called Beatrix, had been condemned for heresy, but escaped punishment by roaming about under a false name. After a time she was arrested as an escaped convict ; but a certain Didacus, her friendly attorney, interposed, pretending that she was not the person wanted and certainly was not guilty. He had recourse to Rome, and pope Alexander ordered a new hearing of the case. Didacus, however, contrived to gain time, and then pretended to have obtained from the apostolic See that his client should have a special judge, her Ordinary, the bishop of Toledo. His intention evidently was to frustrate justice. The Sovereign Pontiff, requested again to interfere, called the whole prosecution before his own tribunal, inquired into the integrity of the regular local judges, and hearing them to be

35. Ferdinand and Isabella, p. 362.

36. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 486.

learned, conscientious men, he appointed them as his deputies, ordering them to examine the case again and to absolve or condemn according to justice. To this effect he wrote to the bishop of Palencia, the inquisitor general, and the other inquisitors in the kingdoms of Spain, on the 24th of November, 1501 [37].

In his own States, where he had not to take into consideration the special conditions and laws of Spain, pope Alexander VI was more liberal yet towards the Marrani. It was repugnant to his nature to inflict corporal chatisement any more than was necessary to prevent future evil ; he did not, like the Spanish monarchs, look for pecuniary fines and confiscation of possessions and he well knew that sincere conversions are not effected by means of the lash or the hangman's rope. As a consequence his mercy was, in matters of faith, so gently tempered with justice that, were we to believe Infessura, the Catholic King rebuked him for not expelling the enemies of the Christian religion, whom he himself had banished [38]. Nevertheless, Raynaldi relates [39], following the same Infessura, that, in the year 1493, the Pope judicially imposed severe punishment on some Marrani who had settled in Rome and thrusted themselves into offices of the papal court. He gives no details, but the particulars of these rigorous prosecutions, determined by the Pope and his cardinals, are known from the following partial report of the consistory of the 6th of July, 1493 [40].

" Rome, on the day of Friday, 6th of July, 1493.

" The governor of the City stated that he himself and Paul

37. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Copia di Bolle di Alessandro VI riguardanti la Spagna, fatta nel sec. XVI, fo 89vo.

38. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1493, no. XXXI.

39. Ibid.

40. Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds Lat., Cod. 12554 : Memorabilia Rerum consistor. ab Alexandro Papa VI ad nostra tempora, idest usque ad XVIm diem Octobris, 1564, fis. 6, 7, 8.

de Mondia, Master of the Sacred palace, had been appointed by our Holy Father as inquisitors of heretical depravity. In virtue of their commission they had published a notice, by which they announced that His Holiness was willing to be merciful towards the Marrani, who had of late come to Italy from the kingdom of Portugal, provided they should personally appear before the same governor and master of the Sacred palace, and confess their errors committed against the holy Catholic faith by observing the rites and ceremonies of the Jews. It was related that, at the time set, two hundred and thirty-three made their appearance and presented their confessions in writing. One of these, that of a woman, was read, and it was remarked that the others were of about the same tenor. They admitted that they had, indeed, kept the sabbath-day... and had, in other matters, observed the hebrew law, had baptized their children without believing in the sacrament of baptism, that their confessions to the priests had been fictitious ; that some had, in the kingdom of Portugal, given up the faith of Christ altogether, being circumcised and taking hebrew names, that they had repudiated their Christian wives and taken others of the jewish race and had in all respects lived like Jews. The governor also stated that many thousands of Marrani were living, in Africa and in the dominions of the Turks, according to the customs of the Jews.

After consulting with several theologians, they had resolved to set an example for the Christians, by ordering all these Marrani to assemble, on a certain day to be set by His Holiness, at St. Peter's square, before the inquisitors and the said consultors sitting in judgment, and to hold candles in their hands during the time that a preacher would exhort them to abjure all heresy. The penitents were then to be formally acquitted by the said inquisitors, to be vested in a yellowish outer garment having red crosses painted on the chest and

on the back ; they should thus, carrying burning candles, enter in procession into St. Peter's church, passing by the penitentiaries, each of whom should touch them with his rod ; in this manner they should proceed to St. Peter's altar and there pray on bended knees ; finally, they were to walk in procession to the church of the Minerva, where, after saying a prayer, they should take off the penitential garb. The governor added that some of the consultors had been in favor of ordering the procession to be made several times and to divers churches, but had left this to the discretion of His Holiness. When the Most Reverend cardinals had heard all this, it was decided to follow the abovesaid plan without delay. "

In Burchard's diary [41] we find, under date of July the 29th, 1498, the account of an other Roman " auto da fe ", similar in all details to the one of A. D. 1493. After the religious address and the general absolution, the penitents set out on their procession to the Minerva church, while the Pope was looking on from the windows of his new apartments and kindly imparted his blessing to them. This time the Marrańi were from Spain.

The lengthy description by the Master of ceremonies, who was in Strasburg at that time [42], was, however, misplaced by Thuasne, as we may see in an extract [43] from a dispatch of some Venetian envoy in Rome, who locates the event after the condemnation of the bishop of Calahorra. It was brought about by the remarks of Paul de Mondia, interrupting, on the 16th of November, the report of that bishop's inquest. He stated before the sacred consistory that His Holiness and the cardinals would be greatly astonished if they should hear of what the Marrani, protected by Peter de Aranda, were doing

41. Tom. II, p. 490, seq.
42. Ibid. p. 490.
43. Ibid. p. 492, n. 1.

to the disgrace of the Christian religion ; that, fearless of authority, they were so bold as to frankly avow their apostasy ; that they observed neither the christian nor the hebrew law. He begged our Holy Father to find a remedy for such evils. Hearing this, His Holiness ordered the governor of the City and the master of the sacred palace to carefully gather information about those Marrani and afterwards to report to the consistory [44]. The public humiliation and penitential procession described by Burchard were, no doubt, the final outcome of these consistorial acts.

Thuasne blots the diarist's entry by adding to it, from Sanuto [45], a vicious supposition of the Venetian envoy saying that the Pope had chastized three hundred Spanish Marrani by making them walk to the church of the Minerva, dressed in yellow and with candles in their hands ; that such was the punishment and that the secret one would be, « saria », the fines, " li danari ", as in the case of the bishop of Calahorra. The fact is that no fines were mentioned at the consistory in regard to either this case or the former, that Burchard did not know of any, and that the envoy would not have failed to cast odinm upon the Pontiff by writing so, if there had been any public punishment, and that the secret one would be, " saria ", the fines, " il danari ", as in the case of the bishop of Calahorra. The fact is that no fines were mentioned at the consistory in regard to neither this case nor the former, that Burchard did not know of any, and that the envoy would not have failed to cast odium upon the Pontiff by writing so, if any had been imposed. Neither is Soderini, the Florentine ambassador, any more positive in his dispatch of the 17th of June, 1503, to the Ten of hostile Florence. He is satisfied with making the unwarranted general remark, that summoning the Marrani before him was simply a trick of the Pope to

44. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXVI, 10, f° 9.

45. Diarii, t. I, col. 1029

make money, and that, through it, he would get several thousands of ducats [46].

We may presume that, some at least, of the Marrani were not insensible to the kindness of pope Alexander VI, who thus liberated them from the legal consequences of their offense, and that they complied with his wishes by leading afterwards a true Christian life.

The famous John Pico, count of Mirandula, also experienced the same Pontiff's clemency. This young prodigy of learning had announced nine hundred theses, comprising the wole field of human science, which he was ready to defend against any opponent. Pope Innocent VIII subjected them to the censorship of a special commission, and some propositions were found to be heretical and, others, suspicious, so that the Pope forbade the publication of the booklet. Thereupon Pico wrote a lengthy explanation of the offensive theses, reducing them to a perfectly Catholic meaning, but would not acknowledge that he had erred. His subterfuge did not prove to be satisfactory, but was rather considered as having slighted the ecclesiastical decision, and Pico was accordingly summoned to Rome. Lorenzo de' Medici interceded for him, but his cause remained pending before the papal court. Shortly after his election, pope Alexander took cognizance of the objectionable propositions and of their authentic interpretations, and, when he became convinced that their author had never meant anything heretical, he put an end to all hostile proceedings and issued, on the 13th of June, 1493, a diploma clearing Pico de Mirandula of all suspicion of heresy, declaring him free of ecclesiastical censure and, for security's sake, absolving him of any that he might have incurred. This diploma : " Omnium Catholicorum quieti " is proof of the

46. Villari, Dispacci di Giustinian, vol. II, p. 42, n. 1.

Pontiff's acuteness of mind, that understood Pico's interpretations, and of the generosity of his heart, that restored peace to him. The Pope's liberal spirit, more than any discussion or punishment could have done, made of the vainglorious count an exemplary Christian for the short remainder of his life [47].

ARTICLE III. — HIS ACTS IN REGARD TO THE HERETICS OF BOHEMIA.

The integrity of the faith was an object of pope Alexander's constant attention, and the Bohemian heretical sects caused him much care and anxiety ; all the more, because they interfered with the union of Christian princes, for the purpose of opposing the invasions of the cruel Turks. Pope Paul II, resolved to stamp out heresy in Bohemia, had excommunicated, in the year 1466, its treacherous king, George Podiebrad, and subjected to interdict all churches and chapels where any heretics might come to worship ; but these severe measures had caused such bitterness, that many faithful priests had been expelled or put to death and several houses of worship ruined or rased to the ground. That Pontiff and his successors, wisely abandoning coercion, first suspended the interdict for a certain length of time, and then, until they should see fit to renew it ; and they granted other favors by special briefs [48]. Moreover, the King made his peace with the Church and died soon after [49]. The leniency of the Popes, in allowing divine service to be celebrated, and the example of the King worked a favorable change in the hearts of many sectarians. As might be expected, pope Alexander VI con-

47. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1493, no. XXXVI ; Cantu, La Réforme en Italie, Disc. IX, p. 362 ; Kirchenlexicon, Art. Mirandula, col. 1551.

48. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 825, f° 262v°.

49. Kirchenlexicon, Art. Husiten, col. 506.

tinued the kindness of his predecessors, and tolerated the Calixtines or Utraquists, still bearing a Platonic respect for the heresiarch John Hus and requiring Holy Communion under both species. The members of this denomination and even more declared Husites not only allowed the Catholics to rebuild their churches, bu teven contributed towards replacing the ones they themselves had demolished [50].

When king Ladislas had obtained also the crown of Hungary, he sent word to his Bohemian subjects, that it was his will to reign over a faithful Catholic nation. The great majority of the people were already so disposed that the King's message was readily admitted as a law by the States or congress of the country, who ordered fines to be imposed on the transgressors, by the judges and the prefect of the castle. The most depraved heretics, the Picards or Waldenses, were forbidden to hold meetings, to keep open their lodges, to preach or to print their doctrine, and were ordered to join within a certain time either the Calixtine or the Roman rite [51].

The Pontiff learned shortly after with the greatest joy that the people of the diocese of Prague and of other adjoining districts in the kingdom of Bohemia, who were so long fallen away from the integrity of the faith and the unity with the Roman Church, had, at last, come to a better sense—" as We have, " the Pope says, " been informed by a letter of our beloved son, Ladislas, the king of Hungary and Bohemia, and by a message of the people of Prague themselves, telling us how they, of their own accord, confess their errors and wish to abjure all their heresies, sectarianism and superstitions, and how they intend to send envoys to us and to the Holy

50. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Ubi supra ; Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXVI, 7 : Memorabilia Rerum Consistor., f° 11vo, and Cod. XXXVI, 10, f° 58.

51. Dubravius, Hist. Bohemica, Lib. 31, p. 261 ; Becchetti, Hist. degli Ultimi Quattro Secoli della Chiesa, t. VI, p. 225.

See, for the purpose of returning to the true faith and the union with the Church of Rome ".

Pope Alexander required no formal supplication, put no previous conditions, but sent at once, on the 18th of October, 1493, Ursus Orsini, bishop of Tiano, " Theanen. ", with the faculties of a legate " a latere ", to the kingdoms of Bohemia, Hungary and Poland, to restore both religious and political peace ; making it in particular his duty, to thank, in his name and in the name of the Church of Rome, king Ladislas, for what he had already done, as he had written, and for what he had freely promised to do towards bringing back the people of Prague to holy religion, and to encourage him to persevere in the good work till he should actually complete it, as the Pontiff confidently expected him to do [52]. To render the mission of his envoy more acceptable to the people, he endowed him, on the 20th, with the authority of granting several dispensations and other favors [53].

Under the combined exertions of the Pontiff and of the King, numerous conversions continued to take place, and, in spite of Pastor's assertion [54] that pope Alexander's efforts were a complete failure, the heretics of Bohemia were, ere long, reduced to a small number [55], as we may notice from the following facts.

The dean and chapter of the cathedral of Prague presented, about the middle of the year 1499, a lengthy petition to pope Alexander VI, which was supported by a supplica from king Ladislas. Both papers were considered at the consistory of

52. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I, II, III, lib. III, Regest. 869, f° 108. This document is published by Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1493, no. VI, and by Theiner, Monumenta Hungariae, p. 541.

53. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 869, f° 113.

54. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II[1] s. 486.

55. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1493, no. VIII ; Becchetti, Istor. degli Ultimi Quattro Secoli, t. VI, p. 225, 293.

the 5th of July [56] and, on the 8th, the Pope answered them by making the following concessions :

He suspended anew the interdict of pope Paul II till four months after he might rule to enforce it again.

He allowed the dean and the chapter, until the church of Prague should be provided with a bishop, to elect at any time from among themselves some Catholic God-fearing clergyman, who should, in their name, govern all property and rights of that church, even in matters or archiepiscopal jurisdiction, whether spiritual or temporal, both in the city and in the diocese of Prague.

This representative had the power to confer upon clerics, Catholic only and suitable, the dignities and benefices of the city and diocese, that might be vacant for the time, in places where Catholics only live, or where Catholics and heretics reside promiscuously, but not where there are heretics only. He should administer the church rights and possessions of communities consisting of heretics exclusively, as if they belonged to the cathedral of Prague.

He was authorized to consecrate chalices and patens, to bless corporals and other ecclesiastical articles.

He had power to receive and reconcile heretics and schismatics willing to return to the unity of faith, after publicly abjuring heresy ; and he could absolve and restore to the fold of the Church all others who had violated the interdict or had incurred the sentence of excommunication, by communing in any manner with the heretics, and he was to impose on them a salutary penance for their fault.

The Pope further explicitly granted to the petitioners and to all Catholic priests and clerics of the whole kingdom permission to publicly celebrate divine offices in all Catholic churches, monasteries and chapels, even in the presence of

56. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXVI, 7, fo 11vo ; Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds Lat., Cod. 12554, fo 17.

heretics, provided these could not, without danger, be avoided ; and to administer the sacraments of the Church to the faithful of Christ.

The Pontiff willed, however, that these special faculties which did not relate to the suspension of the interdict, should become null and void at the end of three years [57].

All these measures were well calculated to swell the tide of conversions, and religion soon flourished in Bohemia again [58]. Heresy proper was virtually extinct, but the most depraved dissenters, Waldenses or Picardists, rather than Husites, both lay and cleric, who rejected all the principal tenets of Christianity and abhorred the authority of the Roman Pontiff, not only resisted all endeavors of Pope and King, but became more fanatical in their mental and moral aberrations. To escape the penalties of the civil law, they held their sectarian gatherings during the night, in solitary places, in caves and fosses ; whence their common name of Fossarii. They were also called Adamites, because, at their irreligious meetings at least, the scantiness of their attire was such as to befit their bestial immorality.

It appears almost incredible to-day, when the cult of Satanism is relegated to a few of the lowest barbarian tribes and of the highest secret lodges, but it cannot historically be denied that not a few of the Waldensian Fossarii surrendered themselves to diabolical possession, and received in return an unconquerable obstinacy and a surprising astuteness and loquacity in defending their denials of Christian dogmas. Like the Waldenses of France, whose intercourse with the devils was condemned even by the College of the Sorbonne, in the year 1498 [59], so were they also addicted to black magic

57. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 825, fo 262vo ; Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1499, no. XXX.

58. Raynaldi, Ibid., Civiltà Cattolica, ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 414 ; Chrytophe, Hist. de la Papauté, t. II, p. 517, 520.

59. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1498, no. XXIV.

and thereby dangerous to the persons and possessions of their neighbors [60].

The almost total absence of positive doctrine and the allurements of unrestricted communism attracted to them the malcontents of other sects and even Calixtines increased their ranks, to such an extent that Trithemius estimates their number as high as nineteen thousand, in the year 1501 [61].

Pope Alexander VI continued to use all possible means to win back these degenerates and to preserve the faithful from being contaminated by them. On the last day of January, 1499, he commissioned for this purpose the provost of Nuemburg or Closternunberg and the Dominican monk, Henry Institoris, the inquisitor for Germany, as his special nuncios to Bohemia and Moravia, ordering them to go and secure the assistance of the bishop and of the civil authorities of Olmütz, and, together with them, to carefully consider and inquire by what means the contagious plague might be suppressed, or so checked at least that no sincere Christians should be infected by it any more. Then they should inform him of their plan of future action. They should also go among the sectarians and appoint helpmates, who should endeavor to bring them back to the path of salvation by advice, argument, entreaty, reproof, and forbid, under pain of censure, all Catholics to have any intercourse with them. Entering into further details, the Pontiff directed his envoys to destroy the sectarian tracts and to refute them by means of lectures, afterwards to be printed and distributed all over Germany, to depute learned and pious Catholic men to preach to them the word of God and the truths of the Gospel, and, finally,

60. Trithemius, Chronicon Sponheim, ad An. 1501 ; H. Institoris, ap. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1501, no. XLIII, XLIV.

61. Ciaconius, Vitae Pontiff. Roman., t. III, col. 195 ; Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1501, no. XLIII.

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to punish, even by means of the secular power, the magicians and their abettors [62].

The minute particulars of this commission are witnesses to pope Alexander's anxiety for Bohemia's complete return to faith and morality. About that same time he also gave the order and the required faculties, to work along towards the conversion of the rebellious Fossarii, to his Jubilee commissioner across the Alps, the Franciscan friar, Lewis a Turre, or Tornielli, who, indeed, sent out several of his fellow-religious to preach in the districts where the sectarians were the most numerous [63].

When, in A. D. 1501, the Pontiff heard that king Ladislas had resolved to proceed, sword in hand, against the Fossarii, he sent orders to cardinal Isvalies, his legate in Hungary, to accompany the King, and directed him, in case that negotiations should take place, to listen to the sectarians's claims and objections, but not to give them any official answer before reporting to Rome and receiving special instructions. Such an interest did the Pope take in the repression of the Waldenses and Picardists, who were growing bolder in several Christian countries, that he required continual information about them, and he himself attended to their cases. Yet, his efforts were not crowned with full success. After being merged with Protestantism, the communistic sect arose again during the last century, and in the year 1849 troops were needed for the protection of their neighbors in Bohemia [64].

Like the Waldenses of Bohemia, so were those of Lombardy given to the practice of black magic. Complaints were sent to Rome, that, through diabolical incantations, they caused many infamous crimes, injured men, beasts and crops

62. The document ap. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1500, no. LX.

63. Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 230.

64. Kirchenlexicon, Art. Adamiten.

and disseminated various errors. By a brief of the year 1501, the Pontiff gave orders to Angelo de Verona, the inquisitor of Lombardy, and to him and his successors in office, full authority to look up, repress and punish according to justice all such malefactors of either sex [65]. Punishment was, however, often evaded through the protection of the duke of Savoy.

ARTICLE IV. — ALEXANDER'S ACTIVITY IN LITHUANIA.

The decree of the ecumenical council of Florence for the reunion of the Greek and of the Latin Churches did not obtain in Russia its beneficial results, because the Grand Duke of Moscow, for political reasons, forcibly prevented his subjects from submitting to the spiritual authority of the Roman Pontiff ; although the return to church unity was not unpopular, as appears from the fact that, in spite of the autocrat, from the fifteen bishops, whom he convoked, four only were willing to partake in his deposition of Isidor, the metropolitan of Kiev and champion of the union [66]. Many private conversions took place, but these so embittered the powerful Moscovites, that they repeatedly assailed with much cruelty the Catholic provinces on their Western borders.

In the year 1495, sixty thousand of them fell upon a portion of the diocese of Abo, on the Northern shore of the Gulf of Finland, then a part of Sweden ; they burned the churches, pillaged the houses, insulted the women and killed or led into bondage thousands of Christians. The Swedes were disheartened and feared for the ruin not only of the whole diocese but also of the adjoining provinces and, eventually, of

65. The brief ap. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1501, no. XLII.

66. Kirchenlexicon, Art. Ferrara, col. 1378.

their kingdom itself. Yet, they had succeeded, the following year, in gathering more than fifty thousand troops under the leadership of their viceroy and governor, Steno Sture, and of their archbishop and bishops. These had recourse, for encouragement and assistance, to pope Alexander VI. On the 22d of June, 1496, the Pontiff sent a letter to the archbishop of Upsal and a duplicate to the bishop of Abo, in which he exhorted the soldiers to the defense of their religion and country, and promised to procure them help in bearing the expenses. He also granted a plenary indulgence to the inhabitants of the kingdom of Sweden and of the Land of Livonia, and to all others who would go forth for Christ's sake to fight the Russian schismatics and should fall in battle; and he accorded a like favor, once in life and at the hour of death, to old people and to all who, for any reason, could not join the army, but would lend a helping hand to the cause, by hiring soldiers or assisting them in any manner [67].

John, the insolent Grand Duke of Moscow, had finally been humbled by the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order at the disastrous battle of Pescov, in the year 1500 [68]; but had, until then, inflicted untold evil on his Catholic neighbors. Alexander, duke of Lithuania, who had also warred against him for the defense of religion, and had lost several important castles had, in A. D. 1496, saved his country from further assaults by accepting for consort, the schismatic daughter of his victorious enemy.

This peace and security from Russian aggression was favorable to the passing over by many Lithuanians and Poles from the Greek schism to the Latin Church. To take this step they were encouraged by their duke and king and moved by the numerous miracles worked at the grave of Alexander's

67. See Document 98.

68. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1500, no. XIX.

brother, St. Casimir. The Pontiff gladly contributed to this latter means of conversion by granting, on the 15th of May 1501, special indulgences to all who would venerate the holy relics in the cathedral of Wilna and make a small offering for the decoration of that church.

To promote the work of conversion, the Pontiff authorized, in the year 1498, the provincial of the Franciscan friars in Poland to establish a monastery in the city of Plotsk, and granted to the fathers of this community such special faculties as would facilitate their labors, and were the same as those possessed by the guardian of their house in Jerusalem; namely, to dispense in impediments of matrimony, to absolve from censures and to reconcile heretics. The friars succeeded in bringing into the Church a large number of schismatics and pagans [69].

Pope Alexander VI also gave permission, on the 23d of June of the year 1501, to build in the city of Wilna a priory of Dominican monks, who should, by their exemplary life and their preaching of the word of God, bring to the true faith a number of sects existing in the surrounding country; and, to help to the new monastery's support, he united with it the Holy-Ghost parish, whose yearly income was of twenty-four gold ducats [70].

A great obstacle, however, stood in the way of conversion. The Greek-united Christians were at the time slighted and shunned by their neighbors of the Latin rite; it was even preached that their baptism was invalid, and already pope Sixtus IV had, on the 28th of January, 1477, considered it his duty to write to the bishops of Hungary and their priests, enjoining tolerance and charity towards the Greeks, and pointing out the duty of giving to them the other sacraments

69. Wadding, Annal. Min. Tom. XV, p. 169.

70. Theiner, Monumenta Poliniae et Lithuan., t. II, p. 294.

and a Christian burial, in case of absence of their own priests [71]. The same prejudices existed still in Poland and Lithuania, and it was asserted by some that the converts to the Latin rite should be baptized over again. But the Greeks objected to this, while national antipathy embittered the dissension. The controversy was laid before pope Alexander VI, who decided it on the 23d of August, 1501.

He prefaced his bull with a few fundamental principles of divine grace, then expressed his great joy at the numerous conversions of Russians and of others to the Catholic Roman Church, which were taking place in the various dioceses of the Lithuanian duchy. " They are desirous ", he says, " to eradicate from their minds and hearts the errors which they have followed while living as Greeks, to embrace the one Catholic faith and accept the rites of the Latin Roman Church; but as they have been baptized, according to Greek custom, in the third person, they, as having already been duly baptized, refuse to receive baptism again. We, therefore, considering that our predecessor, pope Eugene IV, has declared at the council of Florence that the form of the sacrament of baptism is : I baptize thee in name etc., or also the words : Be this servant of Christ baptized in the name etc. ; through which words true baptism is performed... and, consequently, that there is no need of reiterating the sacrament thus conferred in the third person... We decree, by virtue of these present letters, and We declare that all so baptized in the third person must be admitted, simply and without any condition, obligation or compulsion of being baptized anew, not even with the understanding that they shall be allowed to follow the other Greek rites which do not involve any heresy. They must, however, first abjure all the errors of the Greek rites.

71. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 667, f° 182.

that conflict with the teachings, rites and institutions of the Latin Roman Church ". He, finally, gave orders to the bishop of Wilna to attend to the execution of this decree, and, through himself or through others, to absolve the converts from all censures previously incurred [72].

We may assume that this papal decision gave a new impulse to conversions among all Slavic nations to either the Greek-united or to the Roman Church. Furthermore, to increase the piety of the people, the Pontiff sent into Lithuania many relics of Saints, whom he intended to be their models and their intercessors with God; and granted, on the 11th of September of that same year, special indulgences for all who would venerate them [73].

Whilst pope Alexander VI was thus engaged in promoting the faith and piety of private individuals, his solicitude was enlisted by a still more important matter of a similar nature, regarding the Russian schismatics. John Joseph, sometimes called Joseph II, the Greek metropolitan of Kiev and of all Russia, had written to the Roman Pontiff, on the 20th of August, 1500, from the city of Wilna, probably from the residence of Albert, the Catholic bishop. In his letter he highly praised the virtues of the Pope and recognized him as the Pastor of all the faithful and the Head of the Universal Church and of all her bishops and patriarchs. He professed his belief in the ecumenical councils and, particularly, in that of Florence, in accordance with whose definitions he recited the Apostles's Creed. He begged His Holiness to graciously hear his envoys and, for the conversion of many outsiders, to kindly grant the requests which they would lay at his feet [74].

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72. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., An. VIII ad XI, Lib. II, Regest. 868, f° 53 ; and Varia Politicorum, vol. 68, f° 41vo. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1501, no. XXXVII.

73. Raynaldi, Ibid., no. XXXIX.

74. Theiner, Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuan., t. II, p. 267. " Ex Reg. Orig. An. VIII, f° 41 ".

The Pontiff was perplexed at receiving this letter and embassy. He greatly rejoiced in the hope of an influential prelate's and of a whole nation's return to the one Church, but, aware of many former disappointments from similar quarters, he was also suspicious of being the victim of some delusion. Nor could he jeopardize his authority by giving an official reply to a metropolitan, whom he could not recognize as a dignitary of the Church.

To obtain an answer in favor of his friend, who, formally at least, was still a schismatic, Albert, the bishop of Wilna, also wrote to the Roman Pontiff, and received in due time a papal brief, dated the 26th of April, 1501, which, as appears from its very style, was not composed by an official of the papal court, but dictated by pope Alexander VI himself. The document is too lengthy to be copied here in full ; and, yet, it is so remarkable that we should not neglect reporting its principal passages.

With great pleasure, he writes, did We notice your love for the Catholic faith and the Holy See, and your ardent desire to bring back to the union with the Roman Church the people of Lithuania and especially of the metropolis of Kiev and of Russia. You state that John Joseph, whom those people follow as their leader, has promised to you, as he has also to Us, by his letter and his envoys, to make his submission to Us, and to the Roman Church and to induce others towards doing so. We highly commend your devotedness, which neither distance nor the ruses or violence of perfidious schismatics and heretics have been able to abate ; nay, you are one of the sons that were born to the Roman Church to fill the place of our fathers, the Apostles, according to the Psalmist, in your cares for such a large province, that it may return to the bosom of our mother, the Church.

We also believe that the said John Joseph, whom We have

heard to be well read, especially in sacred sciences, sincerely wishes to return ; but We most be cautious. We know that, in the person of St. Peter, We have received the command : " Feed my sheep ", and while We make every effort to feed them, We must take care that there should be but one flock under one shepherd, so that the sheep should not wander off and perish. It would be most agreeable to Us to have you accept from John Joseph and those disposed like him, their submission to the Church of Rome, for the sake of their soul's salvation and for the example of others of the provinces of Kiev and Russia ; but there can be no trifling with the purity of faith ; and We, therefore, send herewith to you the holy decree of the council of Florence, that you may inquire how they understand, profess and practice what is contained in it.

We have been informed that they make no mention of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, that they consecrate, for the Sacrament of the Eucharist, fermented bread of undue, vile shape, and also liquor other than wine for the precious blood ; and that they give also to children the bread and wine consecrated according to their rite and mixed together. We have heard that they obstinately deny the primacy of the Roman Pontiff over the whole world. It should also be investigated under what form and matter and by what minister the sacraments are administered to the people of Kiev and Russia ; and whether they abhor those who follow the Roman rite, exclude them from their religious services and avoid communication with them.

John Joseph had requested Us to recommend him to Alexander, duke of Lithuania, as true archbishop, metropolitan and primate of the Greek rite, and to give him the faculty of granting indulgences. We would gladly consent to his wishes, it We were convinced that, sincerely converted to the true faith, he has for object the union with the Holy Roman

Church. But, since the true patriarch of Constantinople, under whose jurisdiction the metropolis of Kiev is located, resides in Rome these last fifty years, We do not know in what manner he has obtained that metropolis, since it has been without our consent or that of the said patriarch ; nor can We consider his requests as those of a metropolitan, unless he resign his appointment received from others and obtain one from Us and the Apostolic See.

He also aks permission for those of the Greek rite who submit to the Roman Church not to be baptized over again. We shall gratify his wishes, if he tells us under what form and by what ministers they were baptized.

As regards his requests of building stone, " de muro ", churches [75] and of receiving into the obedience of the apostolic See all who wish to follow the Greek rite, if We hear that they observe the decrees of the Florentine council and do not disagree with the Roman Church in matters of faith and sacraments, We shall receive them with paternal affection.

The Pontiff, finally, directed the bishop of Wilna to exhort the metropolitan to perseverance, and promised to send envoys, if need be, through whom he would charitably embrace all returning children. Bishop Albert was also to inform him of all further proceedings towards the metropolitan's reconciliation and, as a means of reunion of the Russian Church, to report all the differences between the Russian and the Latin rites [76].

The prudence of pope Alexander VI, his zeal for the salvation of souls and his care for the purity of faith and for the unity of the Church shine forth, on the occasion of these transactions, from a correspondence so extensive, that Oldoi-

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75. Which he might consecrate, while all other buildings were of lumber.

76. Theiner, Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae, t. II, p. 280, " Ex Regest. Orig. An. IX, t. XXI, f° 43 ".

nus calls its collection one of his literary works, under the title of " Letters to the Ruthenians ". May it suffice, however, to relate but one more of these letters, replete with interesting particulars. It is as follows, directed to Alexander, Grand Duke of Lithuania :

" Alexander VI Pope. Beloved Son, Health and apostolic Blessing. We have received your letter recommending John Joseph, whom to people of Kiev and of Russia consider as their pastor and guide. Erasme Vitellius and John Sopyeha, your Ruthenian secretary, a relation and procurator of John Joseph, have also spoken to Us about his excellent dispositions in the matters of his and of his people's return to our obedience and to the veneration of the apostolic See in accordance with the definition of the Florentine council ; and they have much praised your kind offices and the good will of John Joseph.

" We wish, indeed, with utmost desire, that the sheep of Our Lord Jesus Christ's pasture should recognize his Vicar and, following their true pastor, should enter the path of salvation and of eternal bliss. But, as such a return, according to the decree of the council of Florence, has often been attempted and as often been interrupted through the enemy of the human race, placing obstacles and sowing cockle, We fear to do any thing lightly and without full understanding ; and, in order that the transactions may take place with complete knowledge of the subject and in a manner worthy of the Holy See, We had thought of sending to you some envoy of ours, a man of learning, experience and virtue, to confer with you, according to our advice and ideas, about the welfare of the same John Joseph and of all the Russian people. But your ambassador, for fear that the duke of Moscow might perhaps make war against you on this account, has requested Us to postpone the mission of our nuncio, at least

until Your Nobility may learn all about this matter, and let Us know by your letters what measures you consider to be the most advisable. For the present We shall follow the advice of your ambassador till you, there also, shall have prepared the circumstances and apprised Us of the favorable time.

" That, however, in the meanwhile, We may not seem to obstruct the road of salvation against John Joseph himself and the said people, We direct you, much beloved son, in whose fealty and holy intentions We have much confidence in the Lord, to let our words of exhortation and consolation reach, through you, the above mentioned John Joseph and all the Russian people that, namely, the return of the same John Joseph and of his inferiors to the holy Roman Church, as offered to Us by his procurator, has been and is most agreeable, and that We pray Almighty God to confirm him, to make him persevere in the work commenced, not to let him be circumvented by evil advice and turned away from the straight path which he has entered, as he may prove in due time, especially by his faithful, unbroken and public constancy and perseverance.

" Yet, in regard to the confirmation of his authority and dignity, the granting of the favor of the Apostolic See, the power of giving indulgences and the allowance of building Russian churches of stone, as requested by his Latin letters and by others explained by his procurator, We have concluded to submit all this to mature reflection, until We understand well in what manner to make the concessions. Since, indeed, there is not to-day any other true patriarch of Constantinople than our Venerable brother, John, bishop of Porto and cardinal of Holy Angel, who, after the Ruthenian, the Nicene and the Cretan prelates, is lawfully invested with this dignity, We do not know how a promotion made by that heretic

Joachin, violently established on the Constantinopolitan see by the tyrant of the Turks, should in any way be approved by Us and our most Holy See. But if John Joseph himself is ready to accept the decree of the Florentine council, the authentic copy of which I transmit for Your Excellency, and also to admit the other ecumenical councils, to which the Ruthenian Church adheres, We shall be pleased to absolve John Joseph of all past offenses and irregularities and, after that, to confirm him by ourselves in the metropolitan dignity or to let him be confirmed by the said John, patriarch of Constantinople ; provided he promise to co-operate and endeavor, as far as may lie in him, that the Ruthenian and Greek clergy and people that obey him, effectively accept the decrees of the council of Florence and renounce all errors condemned by the Universal Church at the same and at other ecumenical councils, and propose to renounce them forever ; for, the true obedience, veneration and adhesion to the Holy Roman Church is the one that is given and rendered not only with the lips, but also from the heart and in deed.

" After the same primate and, inasmuch as shall have been in his power, also the others shall have exhibited and given such a real adhesion and obedience to the Roman Church and to Us ; after they shall have understood and accepted all the articles regarding the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, the unity of the Church through the obedience to the apostolic primacy and to the See of Rome, the doctrine of purgatory, of the rewards and punishments of the good and of the wicked after death ; after all these articles shall have been understood and admitted, as We said ; We shall allow that those be not rebaptized who have been baptized in the third person, in the Greek rite, without any other canonical impediments ; that fermented bread may be consecrated for the Holy Eucharist and that

this Sacrament may be administered by them in their churches, under both species, also to seculars ; that the Greek priests may retain their wives taken before the reception of the sacred Orders and that, presupposing the unity of faith and religion of all the members of Christ, each one of their churches may observe the customs of their country in non-essential rites and ceremonies ; provided, however, that, in no way, they presume to derogate from the rites of the Latin Church, founded on Christ, the rock, and on the Apostle Peter's teachings and faith, for which the Lord has prayed that it should not fail.

" You will communicate all this to John Joseph, calling along with you our venerable brother, the bishop of Wilna, apprise Us of all that you have discussed and concluded ; so that, pursuant to your information, We may make provisions for sending either a nuncio with our full authority, to accept the complete return ; or for transmitting by means of a bull the said faculties to the forenamed bishop of Wilna, as it shall seem to be the more expedient.

" Given in Rome at St. Peter's, under the fisherman's seal, the 7th day of May, 1501, of our pontificate the 9th " [77].

The endeavors of pope Alexander VI finally had a happy result, which was not, however, of long duration. John Joseph joined the United-Greek Church and was reconciled with the Roman See ; he held an important provincial council at Wilna in the year 1509, but witnessed already himself the desertion of three of his suffragan bishops, and, when he died, he was replaced with a schismatic by the Russian Grand Duke, in A. D. 1519 [78].

Pope Alexander was rejoicing at the conversion of heretics

77. Theiner, Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuan., t. II, p. 283, " Ex Reg. Orig. An. IX, t. XXI, f° 47 ".

78. Neher, in Kirchenlexicon, Art. Kiew, col. 435, 436.

and schismatics, but he was at the same time alarmed by the dangers that threatened the salvation of faithful Christians. Whilst the kind services of duke Alexander, who had become also king of Poland, were very useful, the influence of Helena, his queen and daughter of the duke of Moscow, was very deleterious. Neher even says [79] that she had no rest till she had introduced schismatics into the highest offices of the kingdom, destroyed the privileges of the United-Greeks and placed their dioceses into the hands of enemies of the Union with Rome, and thus deprived them of their pastors. This statement is exaggerated, but her actual mischief had grown to such an extent, that the king himself had become worried, and begged the Pope for direction under the circumstances.

It was not pleasant to give the answer to a prince whom the Pontiff justly called his much-beloved son ; but duty was to prevail over affection. Since both Alexander and Helena were baptized, their marriage, although contracted in spite of a church prohibition, " in religione mixta ", was indissoluble, as the Pope expressly declared ; but it was subject to a legal separation from bed and board in case of sufficient reasons. King Alexander had, through his envoys, promised under oath to his queen's father never to compel her to accept the rite of the Roman Church, but he had secured to her no right of perverting his United-Greek subjects. By his brief, therefore, of the 8th of June, 1501, His Holiness first insisted upon the king's obligation to continue making every effort to convince queen Helena of her error in adhering to the Russian schism. He then absolved him of his abused promise, and, finally, ordered him, should the queen remain obstinate in her ways, to obey the sentence which he had directed the bishop

79. Ibid. col. 436.

of Wilna to pronounce, and to separate from his wife, as if she were infected with leprosy [80].

It is to be noticed that the Pontiff does not set any time for the separation to take place. Both his prudence and zeal allowed and advised a longer period of probation, as he was not unaware of the greater evils that might follow an inconsiderate precipitation of matters.

On the same day he dispatched another brief to Albert, the bishop of Wilna, in which he touches upon the proselytism of queen Helena, and mentions the danger of perversion of the King and of others in whose society she may happen to come. He enjoins on him the duty of trying still with all good reasons to make her embrace the true Christian religion, and, in case she remain obstinate, to examine her dispositions towards the Catholic faith, and in what particulars she disagrees with the Catholic rites and institutions ; and, if he should find her involved in the errors of the Russian schismatics, to threaten her with all the ecclesiastical penalties. If she still perseveres in her contumacy, the Pontiff finally instructs him to pronounce the sentence of separation and allow Alexander to repel and exclude her [81].

The Pope wrote again, on the 26th of November, 1501, to Casimir, cardinal of Poland and the King's own brother, requesting him to encourage his brother in making renewed efforts to convert the queen, to speak with her himself and propose to her all useful arguments ; and, should she remain obstinate, to declare to her that the Pope will, at last, permit judicial proceedings against her [82].

The order of separation continued to be an unsuccessful

80. Theiner, Monumenta Polon. et Lithuan., t. II, p. 288, " Ex. Reg. Orig. An., t. XXI, f° 57 ".

81. Theiner, Ibid., p. 289, " Ex Reg. Orig. An. IX, t. XXI, f° 58 ".

82. Theiner, Ibid., p. 290, " Ex Reg. Orig. An. IX, tom. XXI, f° 58 ".

menace, and, on the 22d of August, 1505, pope Julius II, for fear of disastrous revenge from John, the old duke of Moscow, still farther delayed its execution [83].

The return to Catholic unity by the people of Asiatic Georgia claimed from pope Alexander VI less labor than he spent for Lithuania. He eagerly responded to the advances made by Constantine, the ruler of this Greek-schismatic kingdom, who had sent to Rome an embassy, headed by his confessor, the Basilian monk, Nilus. This envoy presented and explained to the Pontiff a letter of the King, expressing his respectful attachment to the apostolic See, his congratulations at the victories of the Spanish kings over the Moors and his plans for a general expedition against the Turks, in aid of which he offered the service of his army, of his son and of himself. Nilus further made known king Constantine's intention to accept the true, Roman faith, and his request of papal directions ; in particular, his desire of a copy of the decrees of the council of Florence, regarding the Union of the Greek and the Latin Churches.

The Pontiff personally answered with a brief of the 3d of June, 1496, in which he speaks of his great joy at the King's dispositions and of his own thanks to Almighty God, for having inspired them. He tells of his own constant cares and solicitude for the extension of holy faith, and how he feels encouraged, by Constantine's pious readiness, in his efforts to unite the Christian princes and prepare an expedition for the deliverance of the faithful in the East. We now exhort you, he says, and We pray to the Lord, that you may persevere in your praiseworthy resolutions, and direct your subjects to follow you.

He, further, expresses his supreme joy at the King's intended reunion with the holy Roman Church, established by

83. Ibid., p. 319, " Ex. Reg. | Orig. Anno II, t. XXI, f° 167 ".

Christ and his Vicar, St. Peter, as the head of the whole Christian world. He then states that, with another brief, he sends an authenticated copy of the decrees of the Florentine council [84], as the King had requested ; and he exhorts him to publish and order it observed in all his territories. Finally, he thanks him for his presents and promises to make use of them as occasion may offer [85].

When the King's envoy, Nilus, was ready to return to Georgia, the Pontiff provided him with a special safe-conduct, granting an indulgence of two hundred days to all who would charitably receive, escort or protect him and his companions, or help them along on their way [86].

Many historians mention this peaceful conquest of catholic unity.

It was a great happiness for pope Alexander VI to see separated brethren return to their mother Church, but he was not spared the deep sorrows of hearing year after year that thousands of faithful followers of Christ were being murdered or dragged into slavery by the barbarous Turks. In this way the Bosnians had fallen a prey to these fiends. Some had saved themselves by emigrating across the river Save [87], but others, who had remained in their homes, could hardly practice or keep their religion. Placing confidence in their Supreme Pastor, they dispatched to Rome their faithful priest, the Franciscan friar, Angelus a Verbosa ; and the Pontiff consoled them with good hopes and granted them many favors and privileges conducive to the preservation of their faith [88].

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84. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I ad X. Lib. VII, Regest. 873, f° 365.
85. See Document 99.
86. Archiv. Ubi supra, f° 367vo.
87. Neher in Kirchenlexicon, Art. Agram, col. 350.
88. Wadding, Annal. Min. t. XV, p. 153.

CHAPTER II.

Propagation of the Faith.

ARTICLE I. — IN GREENLAND, CONGO AND GRANADA.

Bishop Chieregati stated before a distinguished audience, on Good Friday, 1495, that nothing was dearer to the heart of pope Alexander VI than the preservation of the Faith among the Christians and its extension into infidel countries [1]. To prove the Pontiff's zeal for the propagation of holy religion, the orator might have alleged not only his repeated protestations but also his numerous acts to that effect.

We have noticed in our " History of America before Columbus " how the once flourishing diocese of Gardar in Greenland was ruined, in the year 1418, by an invasion of the Eskimos of the adjoining continent, who destroyed all but nine of the least accessible churches, murdered a great number of the inhabitants and took away to their icy haunts those of either sex whom they considered as the fittest for slavery [2]. Some of the captives had succeeded in returning to their Greenland home, and begged for priests from pope Nicholas V, who, in the year 1448, charged the bishops of Iceland with taking care of them [3]. But these prelates either did not receive the papal brief or were unable to obey its command [4].

When pope Alexander VI was yet a cardinal, there had been no priest in Greenland for the last eighty years, most of the people had fallen into infidelity and the only memorial of

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1. Rome, Bibl. Vitt. Eman., Mss. Sessor., Cod. 413, f° 448.
2. Explorers have, of late, found descendants of these unfortunates, and describe them as the White Eskimo tribe.
3. Ibid., p. 455.
4. Ibid., p. 459.

the ancient religion was a " corporale " used at the last Holy Mass there celebrated. No European ship had landed in Greenland for more than a century, but the Danish government intended to send out a vessel for the rediscovery of the island which was actually lost in the ocean. Cardinal de Borgia, who saw the probable facility of reconverting the Greenlanders to the faith, heard of a Benedictine monk, Mathew Canutson, willing to sail and go among them. He, at once, went to work, obtained the resignation of the titular bishop of Gardar and influenced pope Innocent VIII to name the courageous Benedictine instead [5]. Hardly had he been elected Supreme Pontiff, when he ordered the missionary bishop's bulls and all other official papers to be delivered, to him free of charge [6]. Both were, nevertheless, sadly disappointed : Greenland was found only in the year 1721, by a Protestant and was protestantized [7].

As the Pontiff was concerned for a dying diocese in the frozen North, so did he rejoice at the birth to holy religion in an empire under the buring rays of the sun. Returning from his discovery voyage of Congo, in A. D. 1484, thé Portuguese, Diego Cam, had taken with him a few natives, who, when educated and baptized in Portugal, made a favorable impression on their countrymen. Other prominent Congolese were sent to Lisbon, and the chiefs of the wild country were so pleased and astonished at their edifying recitals when they came home again, that the king of Congo requested the Portuguese to send priests who should instruct him and his people. His wish was granted, when captain Sosa landed at his coast with three learned and virtuous Dominican Fathers with all that was necessary for divine service and even mechanics to build churches [8]. An uncle of

5. Ibid., p. 461.
6. Ibid., p. 464.
7. Ibid., p. 478.
8. Maffei, Historiar. Indicar., Lib. I. p. 13 ; Barros, Decadas da Asia, Dec. I. fo 39vo.

the King, the old chieftain of Sogno, received baptism on Easter Sunday, April the 3d, 1491, in a chapel built of green boughs [9]. Soon after, the Portuguese enthusiastically received in Ambassa, the capital, built a church, whilst the missionaries, helped by their Congolese former pupils, instructed the King and his people. When the church was completed the priests administered solemn baptism to the King, his Queen and their eldest son, to many notables and countless other persons. The prince, who had taken the name of Alfonso, soon succeeded his father and was, during a long reign, an apostle of his country.

The heat, however, the severity of the climate and the hardships of the missions reduced ere long this small band of priests ; but the Pontiff, in concert with king John of Portugal, supplied more missionaries, to whom he granted all the extraordinary faculties required for the success of their mission. So successful were their labors that, already in the year 1533, the Congo was said to be a Catholic land [10].

One of the first cares of pope Alexander VI was the conversion of the Moriscos in the kingdom of Granada, lately acquired by the kings of Spain. His first measure towards the realization of this project was the establishment of an ecclesiastical hierarchy among a population almost entirely Mohammedan. Only a few months after his election, on the 10th of December, 1492, he divided the kingdom into an archdiocese with its metropolitan church in the city of Granada, and two dioceses, namely, of Almeria and of Cadiz [11]. Raynaldi [12] and Bérault Bercastel [13] were not aware of this

9. Maffei, Ibid. p. 16 ; Barros, Ibid. f° 51.
10. Cfr. Civiltà Cattolica, ser. IX. Vol: VII. p. 414.
11. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Bullar. An. I. Tom. III., Regest. 774. fo 321vo.
12. Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1493. n° XIV.
13. Hist. de l'Eglise, T. X. p. 556.

first division into three dioceses only, although mention of it is made in the bull published by the annalist.

The wisest act of the Pontiff and the one most conducive to the attainment of his pious desire was the promotion of Ferdinand Mendoza de Talavera from the diocese of Avila to the newly erected archdiocese of Granada, which he published at the secret consistory of the 23d of January, 1493 [14]. Döllinger [15] mistakes altogether when he says that, in A. D.,1493 the bishop of Almeria, a suffragan of Sevilla, obtained the archdiocese of Granada.

Soon after the expulsion of the Moors, several prelates and chapters of neighboring dioceses had laid conflicting claims to possessions and rights in the recovered kingdom, and were thus disturbing the work of evangelization. To settle these difficulties and prevent others in the future, pope Alexander VI delegated Francis de la Fuente, whom he had just named bishop of Avila. By his bull of the 11th of April, 1493, wherein he mentions or creates a fourth diocese, that of Malaga, as part of the Granada ecclesiastical province, he ordered this bishop to precisely delimit each of the new dioceses, according to the directions of the kings of Spain, and to hear and definitely decide, without appeal, all the contestations pending before any court, in regard to church property and rights in the whole of Granada [16].

The clergy of each diocese could now proceed in good order and peace with their labors of conversion.

The archbishop of Granada was equally distinguished for his learning, his charity and unblemished piety. In a short time he secured the confidence and the good will of the

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14. Archiv. S. Consistorii, Provis. Inn. VIII et Alex. VI ab an. 1489, fo 29vo.

15. Beiträge zur Gesch., Bd. II. S. 32. n.

16. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Bullar. An. I. Tom. IV., Regest. 775. fo 236vo.

Moriscos. Though late in life, he set about learning Arabian, commanded his clergy to do likewise, and published a catechism in that language, together with a book of liturgy, containing selections from the Gospels. His instructions and exemplary life daily added numbers to the Church [17].

Times and again the Pontiff came to the assistance of the archbishop and of his suffragans, by procuring for them zealous co-laborers, encouraging the faithful to piety and to the beautifying of their churches, and by helping the Catholic kings in the erection of houses of worship and of religious institutions. Thus was built at an early date the large monastery of the Franciscans in Velez [18] ; thus the Kings raised near Malaga the church of Our Lady of Victories, and, on the 14th of November, 1495, the Pope granted special indulgences to all who would make a good confession, visit on certain feasts this church or other Franciscan sanctuaries and lend them a helping hand [19]. So also was erected the church of St. Francis in Granada and favored with indulgences by the Sovereign Pontiff, in the year 1496 [20]. On the 1st of August of the same year, pope Alexander VI authorized Gunsalvo of Cordova to build two more religious houses : one for the Minor Observantins, who were to teach holy religion, and the other for the Poor Clares, who by their prayers should implore divine assistance [21]. At the request of the Catholic Kings, the Pope further established in the city of Granada the Augustinian monastery of St. James, on the 24th of July, 1501 [22].

Kings Ferdinand and Isabella and their vassals of the kingdom of Granada had assumed the duty of building a

17. Wadding, Annal. Min. T. XV. p. 179, Prescott, Ferdinand and Isabella, Vol. II. p. 404-406.
18. Wadding, Ibid. p. 168.
19. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 793, f° 144.
20. Wadding, Ibid. p. 133.
21. Id. Ibid.
22. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. VIII. ad XI. Lib. II., Regest. 868, f° 108vo.

sufficient number of decent churches, for the use of the new Christian population ; but it was the action of the Pontiff that procured them the means to discharge their obligation ; for he had allowed them the two-thirds of all ecclesiastical tithes which the converted Moriscos were to pay, like all other Christians, after baptism had freed them of the yearly tribute of a " Dublone ", or gold escudo, to their Spanish masters [23]. On the 24th of November, 1501, he extended this favor by allowing the right to collect these two-thirds not from the converts only but from all the Christians [24].

The work of christianization, encouraging from the beginning, made extraordinary progress after archbishop de Talavera had concerted with Ximenez, the metropolitan of Toledo, as to the best mode of procedure. They invited the principal Mohammedan priests, the " alfaquis " or " morabits ", to daily discussions on religion, avoiding all harshness ; nay, they occasionally made them presents of silken cloth and scarlet fezzes or caps. The antipathies of the Moorish doctors abated rapidly and they soon commenced to ask to be baptized. Their example was in a few days followed by crowds of their disciples, insomuch that no less than four thousand are said to have presented themselves in one day for baptism [25].

These numerous conversions very naturally aroused the anger of a few Mohammedan fanatics, who, with fiery harangues, scared their co-religionists away from Christianity. But the spirited Ximenes silenced them by imprisonment. This and other acts of severity provoked a sedition in the city, which was, however, quieted again by the archbishop de Talavera, and, shortly after, there was a general uprising in

23. Höfler, Don Rodrigo de Borgia, S. 10, 11.
24. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Copia di Bolle e Brevi riguardanti là Spagna, f° 85.
25. W^m. H. Prescott, Ferdinand and Isabella, Vol. II. p. 409.

the mountains, that was subdued only at the cost of much Spanish blood. In the month of April, 1501, the rebels were given the choice between baptism and emigration, and, by the end of the year, the whole kingdom of Granada was nominally Catholic [26]. Happily the dubious converts found a kind and zealous archbishop and clergymen to instruct and conciliate them [27].

The Spanish kings had hardly completed their conquest of Granada, when they declared their intention of delivering also the North African coast from the barbarity and disgrace of Mohammedanism. They had an understanding with the king of Portugal, as to the partition of the Moorish kingdoms for future subjection and appropriation : the one of Fez being allotted to Portugal and those of Tlemcen and Oran, to Spain [28]. The piracy of the Moors and their cruelty to all Christians that fell into their hands [29] were constant provocations to take prompt action.

To help the Kings in preserving their conquests in Granada and in extending them on the coasts of Africa, the Pontiff confirmed, on the 13th of February, 1494, and extended for all time to come the concessions made to them by his predecessors of a certain portion of the church revenues in the kingdoms of Castilla and Leon, and added to them the right of collecting an equal share of those of the kingdom of Granada [30].

Pope Alexander VI justly considered the project of the subjection of the Moors in the North of Africa, as a means of restoring the Faith again in a large province, thoroughly Christian till the irruption of its present masters, and, there-

26. Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 179, seq. ; Cfr. Prescott, Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. II, p 409, seq. ; passim.

27. Wadding, Ibid., p. 182 ; Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. I. Cap. 27, p. 197vo.

28. Ranke, Geschichten, s. 45.

29. Prescott, Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. III, p. 313, 322.

30. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I, II, III. Lib. III, Regest. 869, f° 203.

fore, he encouraged the Catholic Kings and tried to procure them the means to execute their design.

To defray the intended African expedition, he prescribed, on the 13th of February, 1494, a tithe of all ecclesiastical income in Spain [31].

On the 12th of November, 1494, he published a " Cruciata ", or plenary indulgence, together with other spiritual privileges for all who, having duly confessed, would enlist in the royal fleet, or would send a substitute, for the substitute himself, if he were poor, and for all who would contribute towards the expedition a stipulated sum of money in proportion to their means. These favors were to be gained by both laymen and clergymen [32]. On the same day he imposed on the Spanish clergy the payment of a true and full tithe, one-tenth part of all incomes and revenues of church property, throughout the whole kingdom, to be collected and faithfully deposited, for the same purpose, into the royal coffers [33]. This order was renewed on the following 25th of March, and the bishops of Avila and Salamanca were charged with its execution [34]. On the 13th of February, 1496, the Pope renewed this tithe for another year [35]. Some modifications were made, on this latter date, to the " Cruciata " granted shortly before; because the amount set for the pious contribution was found to be too high, and was now reduced to two gold reals only, to gain the indulgence a first time, and to one silver real, to obtain it over again. The indulgence was also made applicable, by way of intercession, to the souls of purgatory, provided the alms were made for any of them [36].

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31. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secretar. An. I, II, III. Lib. III. Regest. 869, f° 203. The bull is published by Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad an. 1494, no. XXXVII.

32. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I ad X. Lib. VII. Regest. 873, f° 89.

33. Ibid., f° 99vo.

34. Ibid. An. I, II, III. Lib. III. Regest. 869, f° 188.

35. Ibid. An. I ad X. Lib. VII. Regest. 873, f° 408vo.

36. Ibid. Regest. 869, f° 189.

The time of this indulgence and of voluntary contributions was also extended for one more year, on the same 13th of February, 1496 [37].

On the 13th of February of the year 1494 he had further renewed former papal bulls, granting to the predecessors of the Kings of Spain the right of attacking and annexing to their dominions the African territories. Hoping, he says, that ere long you will, for the glory of God and the propagation of the Christian faith, as you have just now so gloriously done in the kingdom of Granada, so also do in Africa, and introduce therein the name of Our Redeemer and Lord Jesus Christ, We by these presents and with the authority of Almighty God, give and grant to you and to your successors, without prejudice, however, to any Christian prince, Africa with all its kingdoms and territories, and the right to retain and govern them in the future ; if, as we hope, you make their acquisition. We also decorate you with the title of king of all those African domains. But We strongly exhort you in the Lord and require Your Majesties, through the bowels of God's mercy and the waters of your holy baptism, in case that, by God's will, you acquire Africa or any portion of it, to endeavor, as it behooves Catholic kings and princes, that the name of Our Saviour be blessed there and more extensively known [38].

Thus the zealous Pontiff, anxious to extend the limits of Christianity, incited the laudable ambition of Ferdinand and Isabella, and procured for them the means to fulfill their declared intention. But the monarchs contented themselves for many years with repelling the piratical assaults of the Moors, along the coasts of their kingdoms ; and it was not

37. Ibid. Regest. 873, f° 409vo.
38. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I, II, III. Lib. 3, Regest. 869, f° 249vo. The bull is published by Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad an. 1494, no. XXXVI.

until the years 1505 and 1509, that, with the help of Ximenez, the Spaniards captured their first two Mohammedan cities, Mazarquivir and Oran, both on African soil.

As Ferdinand of Spain was to overcome the provinces of Oran and Tlemcen, so had Emmanuel of Portugal assumed the recovery of the Moorish kingdom of Fez. Pope Alexander VI was not slow in assisting also the Portuguese king to realize his pious project. On the 13th of September, 1496, he ordered all clergymen of Portugal to pay two reals and complete tithes of their yearly revenues from all benefices, churches, military orders, monasteries and convents, without exception [39]. On the same day he issued a bull by which he exhorted all the people of Portugal to follow their King, and granted a plenary indulgence to all who would, in any capacity, take part in the holy war, or contribute a stipulated alms towards covering its expenses [40].

ARTICLE II. — PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH IN THE NEWLY DISCOVERED WEST INDIES.

The navigation of Christopher Columbus to the Western Continent, generally called his Discovery of America, gave to pope Alexander VI a grand occasion to exercise his zeal for the propagation of the faith, and to make Christendom actually Catholic again.

At the return of Columbus from his first voyage, in the month of March, 1493, king John of Portugal suspected that the islands and lands, of which he had taken possession in the name of the Spanish monarchs, were parts of the Indies, the discovery and possession of which had been secured to

39. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I ad X. Lib. VII. Regest. 873, fo 337vo.
40. Ibid., fo 270vo.

Portugal by the concessions of several Popes [41], and by the treaty of Trujillo with Spain, on the 27th of September, 1479. But, when the kings of Spain heard from their admiral that he had obeyed their order not to approach, within a hundred leagues, any of the Portuguese claims and had sailed in a Westerly direction, they felt assured of their rights upon his discoveries. Yet, they prudently hastened to obtain a sanction like the one that they had respected in regard to Portugal. They, namely, directed bishop Carvajal, their ambassador in Rome, to request from the Supreme Pontiff his official grant of their new possessions, together with his license to make further discoveries and appropriations [42].

Pope Alexander could not refuse to follow the example of his predecessors in their conduct towards the kings of Portugal, under similar circumstances. " For the honor of Almighty God, the extension of the Christian dominion and the exaltation of the Catholic faith ", he gave, and assigned to the Spanish kings, by a first bull of the 3d of May [43], 1493, as it is mentioned in the second document of that date, the distant lands and islands which they had found or might yet find in the Western Ocean, provided these should not be actually subject to any other Christian lord.

On the same day, another bull was issued at the further petition of the Spanish representative, by which were granted to the Kings and their successors, with respect to their discoveries, all the same rights and privileges that had ever been bestowed by the Roman Pontiff upon the Portuguese kings in regard to their African claims and possessions [44].

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41. Martin V, Eugene IV, Nicholas V, Calixtus III and Sixtus IV.

42. Prescott, Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. II, p. 170; H. H. Bancroft, Hist. of Central America, vol. I, p. 95.

43. Herrera, Hist. Gener. de las Indias, Dec. I. Lib. II. Cap. IV, p. 52, mistakes in giving the date as May 2d.

44. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Bull. Div. An. I, t. I. Regest. 879, f° 234, published by Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad an. 1493 no. XVIII.

The Pontiff did not forget his own interests on this occasion. By a third bull of the same 3d of May he solemnly charged the Catholic Kings with the duty of taking care of the instruction of the aborigines, of their education in good morals and their conversion to the Catholic faith ; and, in particular, of sending out for this purpose a number of honorable, godfearing, learned and experienced men, whom they were to provide with the necessaries of life and equipments for their sacred functions. To encourage them in obeying his command, he then more explicitly renewed the favors just granted [45].

The Spanish ambassador, who had minute directions from his court, did not object to the obligations imposed, but requested a statement of the Spanish rights more definite as to space and time. King Ferdinand was aware of the threats of John of Portugal to send forth a fleet along the route followed by Columbus [46] and feared that his jealous rival might even now be acquiring possessions in the West. His envoy suggested, therefore, a limit to the Portuguese discoveries and a suitable date after which no rights could have been acquired against Spain. The Pope considered his reasons as equitable and just, and, on the following day, May the 4th [47], he issued a fourth bull in favor of the Catholic kings, namely, the last one of the previous day over again, but so amended, " emendationis ", as to settle the Portuguese-Spanish discord, by adding a paragraph and drawing the famous line of demarcation from the North to the South pole, one hundred leagues West of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands [48], that belonged to Portugal, and allowing to Spain all the lands and islands discovered or to be discovered farther West of that

45. Document, 100.
46. Prescott, Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. II, p. 174.
47. Not on the 3d, as Herrera mistakenly says, ubi supra.
48. There is no truth in the legend, that pope Alexander VI, with a bold stroke of his pen, actually drew such a line on a map laid before him.

line, also in a southern direction, provided they should not have been in actual possession of some Christian prince on the last previous Christmas day, about which time Columbus had found some islands, and Portugal had not attempted any Western discovery [49].

The king of Portugal had hinted at this and he now proposed another boundary for future discoveries, namely, the parallel or latitude of the Canary Islands, reserving for himself whatever lay to the South of these [50]. Ferdinand of Spain answered him with the Pontiff's decisive partition from North to South [51]. King John also applied for redress to the court of Rome, but was referred to the bulls lately issued to confirm the Spanish rights, drawn up in a like manner as had been written the bulls upon which he based his complaints [52].

It was, no doubt, his wrangling that caused the Spanish monarch to request and obtain a fifth papal bull, the one whose translation " en Romance " is published by Navarette [53] under the heading of " Bull of extension of the apostolic concession and donation of the Indies ". The document is dated the 25th of September, 1493 [54]. Its most important passages are as follows : Alexander etc. To our beloved son, Ferdinand, king, and to our beloved daughter, Isabella, queen of etc..... We lately gave to you all the islands and lands found and to be found towards the West..... Because it might happen that your envoys, captains or vassals, sailing towards the West, touch portions of the East, and find lands and islands which might have been or be parts of India...

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49. See Document 100.

50. Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. I, c. 25, p. 31 ; Irving, Vida y Viages, t. I, lib. V, p. 367.

51. Çurita, ibid., C. 29, p. 35vo.

52. Cfr. Prescott, Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. II, p. 178.

53. Coleccion de Viages y Descubrimientos, t. II, p. 449, from Registros del Archivo Real de Simancas, entre los papeles del Real Patronato. The document did not occur to our search of the Vatican Archives.

54. Not the 26th, as Herrera says, Hist. Gener. de las Indias, Dec. I, Lib. II, Cap. V, p. 54.

We herewith extend our former donation and concession..... to all the lands and islands that are or might be or might loom up along the course of their Western or Southwestern voyage, whether these be located in the West or in the South and East of India; and We grant to you and to your heirs full and absolute authority to take possession of them and to keep them forever, just as if they had been mentioned in our former letters.

The Portuguese king still continued to dispute with Ferdinand of Spain, but finally took advice of emperor Maximilian [55], consented to a friendly understanding and succeeded in concluding, on the 7th of June, 1494, the treaty of Tordesillas, by which the line of demarcation was moved, to his advantage, two hundred and seventy leagues farther to the West [56].

It had been stipulated that both contracting parties should request the Most Holy Father to approve and confirm the agreement and to sanction it with ecclesiastical censures [57]. The Pope, whose object had been and ever was to secure peace among Christian princes, readily issued his bull ratifying the new partition line and the other articles of the treaty [58].

The propagation of the faith was the main, apparently the sole end of pope Alexander VI in granting all these diplomas. The greater half of the principal document and parts of the others are devoted to this subject. The Pontiff prefaces his main bull by stating that his most ardent desire is that the

55. Vienna, Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv, Cod. I. [J] I, an. 1494.

56. Prescott, Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. II, p. 179 ; Herrera, Hist. Gener. de las Indias, Dec. I. Lib. II, p. 62 ; Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. I. Cap. 29, p. 37 ; Irving, Vida y Viages, t I, lib. V, C. ult. p. 380 ; Navarette, Coleccion de Viages, t. II, p. 147.

57. Navarette, Coleccion de Viages, t. II, p. 159.

58. Sandini, Vitae Pontiff. Roman., p. 506 ; Civiltà Cattol., ser. VI, vol. I, p. 673.

Catholic religion be exalted and propagated everywhere for the salvation of souls, and that barbarian nations be humiliated and also converted to holy faith. Then, to obtain from the Catholic Kings a hearty co-operation towards the conversion of the Western aborigines, he alleges several arguments : their glory won by the recuperation of Granada from the Mohammedans, their declared pious intentions in sending Columbus on his errand of discovery, the great number of people to be saved, the poverty of these people, their peaceful dispositions and their preparedness to embrace the Christian faith, besides the rich natural resources of the discovered lands, able to repay the required expenses. He further reminds the Kings of their duty as Catholic princes, of the example of their glorious ancestors and of their own good purposes ; he appeals to them by their holy baptism, that had subjected them to the apostolic authority ; and requires them by the mercy of God to continue their holy undertaking and to zealously work for the christianization of the natives of their new possessions, undaunted by labor and danger, but trusting in God, who will prosper their endeavors. While, finally, stimulating their zeal by the grant of all their wishes, he gives to the Kings the special command of carefully procuring and sending forth a number of suitable messengers of the faith.

José Coll, after other Franciscan writers, is of the opinion [59] that Columbus was accompanied on his first voyage by a Minorite, Juan Perez or Antonio de Marchena [60]. Yet, he justly wonders [61] at the fact that not a single contemporary historian speaks of any priest having been a member of the first expedition, and that the discoverer himself,—even in his letter to the Pope, where he is very circumstantial and asks

59. Colón y la Rabida, p. 252.
60. Who are often confounded into one and the same person.
61. Ibid., p. 249.

for more missionaries,—does not utter a word about a priest having been with him on that solemn occasion. It is noticed that fray Juan Perez went with Columbus to the town of Palos to inspire the people with confidence in him [62] ; but how natural it was to add the word : " by his example ", should he have sailed along with the mariners of that place. Nor is it likely that another friar would have been preferred to them, at the second voyage, had either Perez or de Marchena, both friends of the admiral and of the Queen, become acquainted with the distant nations already.

Fabié [63] takes it for granted that no priest was with Columbus on his first expedition, although the customs of the time might let us expect the contrary.

The folio 191 of Codex J. 34 of the Spanish Bibliotheca Nacional is a letter of January 13th, 1648, sent by Dor. Sebastian Agraz to the Jesuit Father, Juan de Arenas Arinero y Montalbo, giving the information about a venerable priest, Pedro de Arenas, which information the writer had found in a dilapidated manuscript history of the Arenas, composed about the year 1520 by the Licentiate, Juan Arinero y Montalvo. The letter says : Pedro de Arenas, of a noble family of Villa Tobias [64], went to Rome in A. D. 1479, finished his theological studies there and was ordained a priest. On his way home he accepted the curacy of St. Peter's church in a suburb of Genua, and here made the friendly acquaintance of Christopher Columbus, who had come for help from his native State, to carry out his designs. The priest greatly improved his church, and, when he left for Spain, it was called, in memory of him, St. Peter de Arenas's church. He afterwards chanced to meet in Santa Fe his Genoese friend, who was then, through the help of a Franciscan guardian, recei-

62. Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, t. III, p. 615.

63. Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia, t. XX, p. 31.

64. In the province of Madrid.

ving the royal commission for his discovery voyage. The friar returned to his monastery [65], and Pedro de Arenas went to Palos with Columbus, who requested him to sail along as chaplain of the fleet. This de Arenas did, and landed with the others in the Lucayos islands, afterwards called San Salvador. There he said the first Mass and built an altar to the Lord and made known His name in lands so remote from ours. Columbus returned to Spain to give an account to the Kings, and begged de Arenas to remain in Hispaniola for the consolation of the people left behind. Columbus wrote letters to his brothers, from which all this is known [66].

Such is the intelligence derived from Arinero's ancient manuscript. It is remarkable that there is still in Genoa a church with the curious title of St. Peter de Arenas. Pedro de Arenas is not mentioned elsewhere. He probably fell a victim to the revenge of the natives, who, during Columbus's absence, demolished the fortress of La Navidad and exterminated its lawless garrison [67].

The Catholic Kings were not slow in fulfilling the order of pope Alexander VI and in sending missionaries to their distant possessions. Already on the 25th of May, 1493, or even a few days before, they had selected the one who was to be the superior of the clergymen destined for these missions, namely, the Minim, " friar Bernat Buyl, of the Order of the hermits of the friar Francis de Paula, and his Vicar General in Spain " [68].

Much has been written about the identity of this personage, often but wrongly, titled a Vicar Apostolic. He is generally admitted to be a noble Catalan by birth.

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65. Of la Rabida.
66. Boletin de la Real Academia de la Hist., t. XVIII, p. 552.
67. Amer. Cathol. Quart. Rev. Vol. XVII, p. 518 ; Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 30 ; Alii.
68. Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia, t. XIX, p. 183 ; t. XX, p. 180, aliis.

He signs his name as " fray buyl " [69], but we find him also named " Bernat buil " [70], " Bernard Buil " [71], " Don Bueil " [72], " Bernard Boil " [73], " boyl " [74], " Boil " [75], and even " Saül " [76].

He is often called a Benedictine monk [77] and sometimes a Franciscan Minorite, as by Raynaldi [78] and in papal bulls ; but scores of contemporary official papers prove that, when sent to the West Indies, he was a member of the Order of Minims of St. Francis de Paula [79]. Nor should we wonder if in papal bulls addressed to him, he is designated as belonging to the Order of Minors, because the Minims, originated from the religious family of St. Francis of Assisi and continued to be a congregation or branch of that great monastic Order ; while, as Minims, they were officially unknown at the Roman chancery [80].

Fidel Fita [81] publishes a large number of documents to prove that the one and same fray Buyl was a Benedictine hermit from the year 1481 to 1492, and then a Minim, and that in 1498 he obtained the Benedictine abbey of Cuxá, perhaps in commendam, without being a Benedictine himself [82], for, in A. D. 1503, he still was " electus " Coxenensis only [83].

He appears on all occasions as a man of great talents,

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69. Boletin, XX, 188.
70. Ibid., XX, 164.
71. H. H. Bancroft, Central America, vol. I, p. 166.
72. Bérault-Bercastel, Hist. de l'Eglise, t. X, p. 531.
73. Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 150 ; Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1493, no. XXIV ; the papal chancery.
74. Boletin, XIX, 214 ; XX, 160.
75. De Humboldt, Géogr. du Nouv. Contin., t. 3, p. 269.
76. Cantu, Hist. Univers., Liv. XIV, Ch. XI, p. 229.
77. Herrera, Hist. Gener. de las Indias, Dec. I. Lib. II, C. V, p. 53 ; Charlevoix, Hist. de l'Ile Espagnole, t. I, p. 147 ; Bancroft, Central Amer., vol. I, p. 166 ; Cantu, ubi supra ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, § 491.
78. Ubi supra.
79. Fidel Fita in Boletin, XIX, p. 173-233.
80. This explains the inaccuracies of the corrective note of E. Soutif, in American Catholic Quarterly Review, vol. XX p. 754, footn. 3.
81. Boletin, t. XX, p. 160-205.
82. Ibid., p. 167.
83. Ibid., p. 175.

learning and activity, and he enjoyed the confidence and esteem of St. Francis de Paula [84], of king Ferdinand [85] and of pope Alexander VI [86] ; all of whom continued to employ him as their special agent and envoy after his return from the West Indies.

On the 7th of June, 1493, the kings of Spain ordered their ambassadors in Rome to obtain from the Holy Father, for friar Buyl and the other priests whom they would send, all the dispensations and faculties that they might need, as also some favors for the lay people who would go to the discovered land and islands [87]. Their request was granted by a bull of the next following 25th—not of the 24th, as wrongly given by Cantu [88] and Bérault-Bercastel [89], nor of the 26th, as de l'Epinois writes [90].

The bull is directed to " Bernard Boil, a brother of the Order of Minors and Viçar of the same Order in the kingdoms of Spain ". Its most important passages are as follows :

Whereas the kings of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, have decreed to send you to the lands and islands newly discovered, that there, through you and other priests secular and regular, deputed by you, the word of God may be preached, and the natives, hitherto ignorant of our faith, may be brought to it, and taught to walk in the commandments of the Lord : We grant to you the following authority,faculties and privileges :

To go to the said islands and countries, even with associates of your own or of another Order, selected by yourself or by the said King and Queen, and to remain there as long

84. Boletin XIX, p. 214.
85. Ibid., XIX, 215, 218, 219 ; XX, 162, seq.
86. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Varia Polit. Cod. LV, f° 311 and Rome, Bibl. Vitt. Eman., Mss. Jesuitici no. 275, f° 243 ; Archiv. Secr. Vatic. Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1497-1499. Lib. III. Armar. 29, no. 52.
87. Boletin, t. XIX, p. 185.
88. Hist. Univers. Liv. XIV, Ch. XI, p. 229.
89. Hist. de l'Eglise, t. 10, p. 531.
90. Rev. des Quest. Hist. Vol. 29, p. 417.

as you wish, without further authority from your superiors or anyone else ;

To preach the word of God, by yourself and others suited for the purpose, to bring the said natives to the Catholic faith and to baptize them; to administer to them the sacraments of the Church, as often as necessary ; to hear their confessions, by yourself or by other priests, secular or regular, as often as necessary and to give them absolution, even in cases wherein the Holy See should be consulted ;

To commute all temporal vows into other works of piety, with the sole exceptions of the vow of Religion and that of visiting Jerusalem, the shrine of the Apostles Peter and Paul or of St. James of Compostella ;

To build churches, chapels, monasteries, houses of any, even mendicant, Orders of men or of women, and places of devotion with all ordinary appurtenances ;

To permit members of mendicant Orders to accept and permanently occupy houses that you build for them ;

To bless the said churches and, as often as they or the cemeteries attached to them may be violated in any way, to reconcile them ;

In case of necessity, of which We leave you to judge, to eat flesh-meat or other food forbidden to you and your associates by the rules and regulations of your Orders ;

To do each and every thing necessarily connected with, contained in or helpful to, the execution of the foregoing.

Moreover, to promote an influx of the faithful into those lands and islands by the facilities afforded to secure their salvation, We grant to all and each of the faithful of either sex, who personally go to them, the privilege of choosing a fit confessor, secular or regular, who shall be empowered to absolve them of their sins, even of those reserved to the Holy See, and to concede to them a plenary indulgence, once in

life and again when in danger of death, provided they be contrite of heart and have made their confession.

Given at St. Peter's in Rome, June the 25th, 1493 [91].

In accordance with these papal faculties and directions, Father Boil and the Catholic Kings appointed the men that were to sail with Columbus, as first missionaries of the Antilles.

Much was expected from the assistance of a few natives, whom the Admiral had brought to Spain and had been baptized in Barcelona. They were to act as interpreters, and Columbus was ordered, on the 29th of May, 1493, to let them be instructed as well as possible in the Spanish language and to take them back with him [92].

Twelve [93] more priests were destined for the missions of the distant countries. They are all or generally called " frayles ", members of religious orders, by contemporary writers, although Wadding, a Franciscan, relates [94] that some belonged to the secular clergy.

One of them was Antonio de Marchena, of the Order of Minors. The Kings wrote to him from Barcelona, on the 5th of September, 1493 : Devout Religious : Because we are confident that your knowledge [95] will be very useful on occasions that may occur during the next voyage of our admiral Christopher Columbus to the lands and islands discovered, we would like you to accompany him and stay for some days with him there, for the service of God and of ourselves; and we write to the provincial and to the custos of this province to give you permission thereto. They, indeed, wrote on the same day to both these superiors of Father de Marchena [96].

91. See Document 101.

92. Boletin, t. XIX, p. 184 ; Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, t. II, p. 77.

93. P. Martyr, De Rebus Oceanicis, Dec. I, lib. II, p. 27 ; Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1493, no. 24 ; Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 30 ; Boletin, t. XX, p. 615.

94. Ubi supra.

95. He was a great astronomer.

96. Boletin, t. XIX, p. 193, 194.

At the same time, they also wrote to Columbus : It seems to us that it would be well to take with you a good astronomer, and that Fray Antonio de Marchena would be a suitable person, because he is a good astronomer, and he always seemed to us to be of your opinion [97].

Fray Jorge, Jorje or Xorxe, probably was a person of prominence, a commander of the Order of St. James, and a dignitary in the church of St. James of the Knights in Sevilla [98]. The Kings wrote to the bishop of Badajoz, on June 1st, 1495 : " As to what you say, that the Admiral detains fray Jorge in the Indies, we write to him to let the friar free and to send him to us. In fact they wrote to Columbus at the same time : We have learned that frey Jorge, who is there, wants to come on the caravels that we are sending now, and to retain him there for no reason whatever " [99].

Fray Roman Pane styles himself a poor hermit of the Order of St. Jerome [100]. He learned the languages of the natives, especially that spoken in the province of Guarinoex, where he had been sent, together with brother John Burgognon [101]. Rafinesque tells us [102] that Father Roman collected the traditions of the Haytians from the " areitos " or songs and hymns used at their festivals, which he compiled in the year 1498, by order of Columbus, and are inserted at large in the Admiral's Life by his son. Von Humbold [103] adds that the Hieronymite, Roman Pane, was long remembered by the natives, whose sufferings he had tried to alleviate.

B. de las Casas relates [104] that he happened to know two

97. Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, t. II, p. 124.
98. Fidel Fita in Boletin, t. XIX, p. 235, 237.
VI. Cap. 10, p. 472.
99. Boletin, t. XIX, p. 202, 209; Cappa, Estudios Criticos, P. I, p. 164.
100. Irving, Vida y Viages, lib.
101. Herrera, Hist. Gener. de las Indias. Dec. I. Lib. III. Cap. 4, p. 88.
102. The American Nations, p. 30, 162.
103. Géographie du Nouveau Continent, t. III, p. 297.
104. Hist. de las Indias, t. I, cap. 81, p. 494.

religious of the Order of St. Francis who sailed with fray Boil, lay brothers, yet persons of prominence, born in Picardy or in Burgundy, who were moved to come over here, he says, solely by zeal for the salvation of souls, and who, although but lay brothers, were very learned and well read. One of them was called brother John de la Duela, or The Red, because he was red haired ; and the other was John de Tisin.

The " Catholic Sentinel " of Portland, Oregon, reprinted, March 3d, 1892, that the first Mass on the shores of America was offered by Father Juan Perez, who accompanied Columbus on his second voyage ; but all historical sources are opposed to either part of the assertion.

Pastor [105] names Pedro de Arenas as one of Bernard Boil's companions. He refers to the Boletin of the Madrid Academy of History, T. XVIII, 551, seq., and does not notice that there is question here of Columbus's first voyage. Pastor mistakes again [106] when counting the famous Bartholomew de las Casas among the missionaries sent in the year 1493 ; for de las Casas speaks of the mission of Bernard Boil and of his clerical band, as of an event quite foreign to himself. He did not leave Spain before the year 1502. Ortiz de Zúñiga [107] and Prescott [108] committed the same error, but the latter corrected himself in his History of the Conquest of Mexico.

Whilst Father Boil was assembling his co-laborers in the city of Sevilla, the kings of Spain gave their attention to preparing all the necessaries for the living and sacred functions of the missionaries. On the 12th of July, 1493, they ordered that these should be fed and clothed at the expense of the crown [109]. On the same day, they gave general directions to

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105. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 491.
106. Ubi supra.
107. Boletin, t. XIX, p. 235.
108. Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. II, p. 168.
109. Boletin, t. XIX, p. 192.

procure whatever church paraphernalia might be required, and to buy them from the churches and monasteries of Sevilla [110], such as sacred vestments, crosses, chalices, pictures and all the rest needed for divine service and the ornamentation of the churches which they would have to build [111]. B. de las Casas relates that the Kings gave very rich crimson vestments, and that he saw, in particular, a set which was donated by the Queen from her own chapel, and lasted many years.

The royal treasury continued to provide for the wants of the clergymen as time went on. Following is a curious list of articles that Juan de Fonseca was charged, on the 16th of August, 1494, to forward to fray Buyl and the friars who were with him in the Indies : A silver vase in which to consecrate ; a tent wherein to say Mass, because they sometimes travel over districts where there is no house in which to celebrate ; sugar, raisins, and almonds ; sandals for footwear ; glassware, dishes and plates to eat from ; some preserves ; cloth to clothe all the religious ; some bedclothes wherein the friars may sleep.

When the seventeen vessels of Columbus's second expedition were loaded with men and provisions, he took his departure from the bay of Cadiz, on the 25th of September, 1493 [112]. Finding his fortress and garrison of La Navidad annihilated, Columbus commenced the city of Isabella by building a church in which, already on Epiphany, January 6th, 1494, the thirteen missionary priests took part in the first solemn Mass ever celebrated in America since the time of Greenland's last resident bishop.

The friars had set out at once on their errand of evange-

110. Ibidem, p. 191.

111. Torquemada, Monarchia Indiana, t. III. Lib. XVIII. Cap. VI, p. 295.

112. Prescott, Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. II, p. 177 ; Becchetti, Quattro Ult. Secoli, t. VI, p. 230 ; P. Martyr, De Rebus Oceanicis, Dec. I. Lib. I. p. 11 ; Aa. passim. Not on October 7th, as asserted by Clarke in Amer. Cathol. Quart. Rev. Vol. XVII, p. 517.

lization, but, it seems, with little effect. Father Boil was discouraged from the start, being unable to find persons fit for the indispensable work of interpreters. Moreover, he condemned the severe policy of Columbus and, to punish him, placed the island under interdict. The admiral retaliated by depriving him of his rations. Thinking his presence to be useless, already on the 2d of the following February, the friar expressed his wish to return. On august 16th, the Kings insisted on his continuance in office; yet, they requested him, in case he should be unwilling to remain, to delegate his authority to some other worthy priest [113]. On December 3d he was back in Spain, a sick man, unable to resume his post of duty, and the Catholic Kings, having requested the Pontiff to grant the necessary faculties, ordered, on the 9th of April, 1495, their counsellor, Juan de Fonseca, to send out another priest who should temporarily replace Father Boil, besides some more friars and clerics to fill the vacancies soon to be made by others that also wanted to return to Spain.

This second clerical band sailed with the royal agent Aguado, in the month of August, 1495 [114]. The number and efficiency of the West Indian clergy were greatly increased when ten more Franciscan Fathers, with Alfonsus Epinario at their head, left Spain with Ovando, the new governor of Hispaniola, on the 13th of February, 1502 [115]. By his letter of February, 1502, to pope Alexander VI, Columbus requested the right of inviting half a dozen friars from different Orders to accompany him on his fourth voyage [116], and it is readily

113. Boletin, t. XIX, p. 196.

114. Ibid., p. 204; Prescott, Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. II, p. 460. — H. H. Bancroft, Central Amer. Vol. I, p. 177, says that in June, 1496, Niño took out other missionaries; and O'Kane Murray, Heroes, p. 154, that others again, among whom Father Alexander, sailed with Columbus on his third expedition, May 30th, 1498.

115. Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 247.

116. Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, t. II, p. 311.

presumed that the Pontiff did not refuse a favor of that nature.

We have noticed that the missionaries worked almost in vain among the natives at first. They commenced, however, to reap the fruit of their labors after they had learned the indigenous languages, although the immoral and cruel behavior of the Spaniards, and the nomadic habits of the aborigines, scattered over a large extent of country, were great obstacles to success [117]. How rapidly the number of Spanish settlers and of converted natives increased is evidenced by the fact that, already in the year 1501, negotiations were opened in Rome for the establishment of a church hierarchy in the West Indies [118].

Indeed, the Catholic Kings of Spain, who were erecting and endowing, in the West Indies, the buildings needed for the worship of God, had, through their ambassador, Francis de Rojas, requested pope Alexander VI, to grant to them and to their successors the right of exacting the tithes of all ecclesiastical revenues in the newly discovered countries. The Pontiff, in consideration of their efforts to propagate the faith and of their great expenses in acquiring and subjugating the Western lands, graciously accorded their petition by his bull of the 23d of November, 1501. He made it, however, a condition of his concession, that to all churches built and to be built a dot should actually and effectively have been previously assigned, in conformity with the demands of the diocesan presidents of the various districts, sufficient to support them and the parochial rectors, to carry the burdens which in the course of time might be imposed on the churches, and to supply the means of worshipping Almighty God. That there was question of appointing bishops for the new countries, is plainly indicated by the last proviso, that, namely, the

117. Herrera, Hist. Gener., Dec. I. Lib. III. Cap. IV, p. 88.

118. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 491, ref. to Ehrle.

kingly endowments should also enable the future bishops to pay their episcopal duties, no doubt, to the Holy See [119].

Thus did pope Alexander VI, to the satisfaction of all concerned, provide for the temporal needs of the ordinary clergy and of the bishops, whom he intended soon to name for America.

Ferdinand and Isabella received the papal letters in Sevilla, where they were residing, to encourage by their presence the equipment of a fleet of thirty-one vessels, which, on the 15th of February, 1502, crossed the bar of Sanlucar, with two thousand and five hundred persons of either sex and of all ages [120].

When, afterwards, governor Ovando had gathered the poor people into communities and mitigated their oppression, the clergy had more facilities to reach them for instruction and, after a few more years, Hispaniola, Haiti, had become a Catholic island. On the 15th of November, 1504, it was erected into an ecclesiastical province, with two dioceses and an archdiocese, one year only after the demise of pope Alexander VI [121].

Thus was the majestic tree, whose branches extend to-day over one half of the Catholic world, planted by pope Alexander VI.

ARTICLE III. — FAULT FOUND WITH THE POPE FOR "DONATING" THE WEST INDIES.

This deed was sufficiently glorious to arouse the hatred of some of his enemies, who take his remarkable bull as an occasion for new criminations as grievous as unfounded. In their crass ignorance of international relations and diplomatic

119. See Document 101b.
120. Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia, t. XX, p. 263.
121. Archiv. Sacri Consistorii, 1492-1523, fo 7vo.

forms of that epoch, they render the terms of the document to make the Pontiff simply say : We herewith make to the Spanish kings a present of that half of the world which lies and is situated on the West side of a certain line drawn from pole to pole ; and, generous as they are, they make him give to the king of Portugal whatever of the earth is left on the East side, although Portugal is not so much as mentioned in the whole bull. As a corollary, the Pope donates to Ferdinand and to his queen all the people and nations that they might discover, on the condition, however, of compelling them to embrace the Christian religion. The romancer Marmontel traces to this donation all the evils endured by American aborigines at the hands of lawless Spaniards, and concludes his description of these wrongs with the solemn epiphonema: " De tous les crimes des Borgia cette bulle fut le plus grand ", This bull was the most heinous of all the crimes of the Borgias ! Others more simply accuse the Pontiff of giving away what did not belong to him, nay, what he did not even know to exist.

There can be no serious question about all such non-sensical interpretation, for pope Alexander VI is universally admitted to be a man of intelligence. The meaning of the document is evidently the one attached to it at the epoch of its issuance. At that time the Sovereign Pontiff was, as such, the recognized and respected superior of all Catholic princes and kings, as the orator of Mantua solemnly declared at that city's act of obeisance [122]. He exerted his authority over them either by arbitrating their differences, by convalidating their individual rights and possessions, or by confirming and sanctioning their mutual promises and agreements. Thus in A. D. 1493, pope Alexander VI approved the peace of Etaples between the kings of England and of France, and im-

122. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. B. B. B. I. 13 : Hier. Porcii Comment.

posed the observance of its articles under pain of excommunication, as he did again at its renewal, on the 14th of January, 1498, and on the 1st of May, 1500 [123]. We noticed already that Ferdinand of Spain and John of Portugal did not consider their treaty of Tordesillas as binding till the Pope should have sanctioned it. In fact, it seems that every international transaction, to be valid, needed a pontifical approval [124]. It is, in particular, well known that the quiet possession of the West coast of Africa by the Portuguese rested on the several bulls of late Roman Pontiffs, granting to them those islands and territories of which they had taken possession in virtue of the right of discovery.

The bull of May 4th, 1493 was not an award of arbitration, as it is considered to be by many, even among the best historians. Spain, but not Portugal, applied for it ; there was no official controversy between the two countries at that time, nor is Portugal named in the document. It was simply an approval and authoritative ratification of the initial rights of domination over the lands and islands of the distant West, acquired by Spain through discovery and the taking possession of them. In reality, pope Alexander VI did not give to Spain any orginal right, not a half a world nor a foot of ground, in the year 1493, any more than he took away from it, the next year, a longitudinal slice of the earth, two hundred and seventy leagues wide, by confirming the treaty of Tordesillas. Had the " donamus " of the bull been an actual donation of lands, even yet to be discovered, without a previous right of Spain, it would have been of little avail to the Catholic Kings; for, on the 5th of March, 1496, king Henry VII of England issued letters patent to John Cabot, which he

123. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. 8 ad XI. Lib. II. Regest. 868fiis 1 and 7 ; Bibl. Vatic. Ottobon., Cod. 2528, f° 66 ; Paris, Archiv. Nation. J. 648, no. 20 ; Rymer, Foedera, t. XII, p. 497, 736.

124. Boletin de la Real Academia, t. XX, p. 264.

renewed in A. D. 1498 [125], and afterwards to others, authorizing them to sail, discover and take possession, in any part of the world, of any lands not previously discovered and possessed by Portugal or other friendly countries [126]. King Francis I of France afterwards acted in the same way. And yet, no objections were made to these later discoverers,—because it was understood by all parties concerned that the Supreme Pontiff had neither given nor secured to Spain any but its transmarine possessions actually held under titles admitted, then as now, by the law of nations.

The necessity of lawful possession, previous to a papal donation, is more plainly expressed by pope Calixtus III in a similar concession to Portugal : " postquam acquisita fuerint ", after you shall have made the acquisition [127] ; and likewise by Alexander VI himself, in his donation of the Moorish kingdoms to the monarchs of Spain ; but even in the present bull it is expressly stated that the Spanish were holding their discoveries by means of a garrisoned fortress. Gaffarel [128], like other Protestants [129], is entirely wrong in saying that the Pope was considered at the time as having an absolute right of ownership over all the kingdoms of the earth, and of giving them away according to his own judgment. It is true that the historian Herrera [130] speaks in a self-contradictory manner on this question, but the great theologians of that time, Cajetan and Dominic de Soto, required a just title to the Spanish dominion in the West Indies, different from the papal donation. The teachings on this point, of Suarez, De

125. Rymer, Foedera, t. XII, p. 595 ; Hakluyt, Divers Voyages, p. 19.

126. Rymer, Foedera, t. XIII, p. 37.

127. Solorzano, De Indiarum Jure, lib. II, cap. 24, no. 29.

128. Hist. de la Découverte de l'Amérique, t. II, p. 135.

129. Robertson, History of America, vol. II ; Büsching, Erdbeschreibung, XXXI ; Marmontel, Les Incas.

130. Hist. General, Dec. I. Lib. II. Cap. 4, p. 52.

Lugo, Egidius de Coninck, the Salmanticenses are the same [131].

Nor does the formula of the bull : " We give from mere liberality, with full knowledge and with the plenitude of the apostolic power "... prove in favor of the imputed theory. Only as Sovereign Pontiff was Alexander VI admitted to have international authority, only as Vicar of Christ was he requested to confirm the Spanish rights, ad none but the wordings of a regular Sovereign Pontiff's bull could be acceptable and effective. The main object of the paper, the conversion of the natives, was another reason for using the solemnities of a papal document. The formula itself was, moreover, but a common, stereotyped expression, simply meaning that the papal act was final, without appeal.

The bull properly was like a patent issued nowadays in favor of an inventor, to preserve for him the fruit of his labor, study and expense, from attempts at robbery by any subject of the patentor, adding to natural justice the authority of the protecting sovereign. It acted exactly like a patent. It restrained Portugal from entering the Spanish route of discovery and prevented a threatened war between the sister nations ; while the other Catholic countries, although emulating the spirit of expansion of the Spaniards, scrupulously abstained from molesting them in their lands and islands discovered and even in the zone where they were extending their discoveries and conquests. The Pontiff's end in issuing his bull was thus fully attained, for his bull to the kings Ferdinand and Isabella was solely intended to be a warning to his other spiritual subjects, the Catholic princes of Europe, for the sake of justice and peace.

From the information received about the sad condition of the natives already seen, pope Alexander VI justly concluded

131. Jungmann, Dissertatio XXXVI, no. 55 ; Civiltà Cattol. ser. VI, t. I, p. 667.

that the dominion and government of Catholic Spain was naturally to prove a temporal and spiritual blessing for them ; but, ignorant as he was of the character and circumstances of States or nations that might still be found, he did not confirm any rights against these, which, to him, did not exist as yet. He left all questions of possession and supremacy of further discoveries to natural justice and public law ; insisting only on the divine right of teaching all nations the doctrine of Christ.

It is rather strange that Marmontel and other enemies of the Popes venture to accuse Alexander VI of having reduced the American aborigines to brutal servitude, in order to force Christianity upon them ; for they should have seen that the very contrary is the honorable fact. This Pontiff, indeed, never allowed the least wrong against these poor people, but ordered to be sent out to them, not lawless tyrants, but righteous men, fearing God, learned, skilful and experienced ; not to force them down on their knees, but who were to teach them and to educate them in good morals [132]. If the natives had to suffer, those missionaries were their consolers and their protectors. Who knows not of a Bartholomew de las Casas? In proof of this, it is sufficient to repeat the testimony of the non-catholic historian of the former Spanish possessions in the West Indies, H. H. Bancroft, who writes [133] : " I record with no small degree of pleasure the noble attributes of the self-sacrificing Christian heroes who, while preaching their faith to the savage, endeavored to bridle as best they could the cupidity and cruelty of the Spanish adventurers who accompanied them ".

Neither did pope Alexander VI, nor any of his successors, authorize the proclamations of the Spanish conquistadors, by which, it is said, they required the American nations, in virtue

132. See Document 100.

133. Central America, vol. I, p. 255.

of some papal gift, to surrender the administration of their States. The Spaniards had other and better grounds on which to base their right to govern them. They, indeed, found natives having no common chief to direct or protect them [134]. They discovered, in several provinces, tribes that, fiercer than savage brutes, fed on human flesh. They met with communities and cities, apparently well regulated, where other unnatural crimes were committed freely and with impunity. They reached States, advanced in learning and material progress, yet profoundly immoral and oppressive, where more people were cruelly sacrificed to the ugly representations of the devils, than were allowed to die a natural death [135]. Is it necessary to say that all such tribes and States had lost all pretense to civilization and right to the continuation of their criminal self-government [136]? Under such circumstances the Spaniards and their kings considered it to be their bounden duty to subjugate the low-fallen aborigines, in order to lift them up again, through the doctrine and laws of Christianity. Even to this day, their example has been followed by the European civilized countries, especially in Africa, whose whole extent is now partitioned among them.

ARTICLE IV. — PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH IN PORTUGUESE POSSESSIONS.

Pope Alexander VI eagerly embraced another opportunity of propagating the Catholic faith, by granting the request of Emanuel, king of Portugal, who, at the beginning of his reign,

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134. J. C. Bluntschli, Das Moderne Völkerrecht der Civilisirten Staten, § 278.

135 See our " History of America before Columbus, " vol. I., Ch. XI.

136. Lorimer, Principes de Droit International, p. 123, 210; Bluntschli, Das Moderne Völkerrecht, § 280.

declared his intention of combating the Infidels, and desired the papal confirmation of the sovereign rights which he might thus acquire. On the 1st of June, 1497, the Pontiff donated with apostolic authority, all the cities and territories which he might subdue, and, he here adds: " which might be willing to recognize you as their lord, or to pay tribute to you ". He added this last condition, no doubt, because he surmised that there might be question of States, like Ethiopia, which had kept, together with ancient Christianity, that amount of morality or civilization that entitled them to the preservation of their supremacy. At the same time he strongly insisted and required the King, by the waters of his holy baptism and the mercy of God, that he should do all in his power, as it behooved Catholic princes, so that the name of our Savior be blessed and the Catholic religion exalted and extended in the lands and domains which he might, through the Lord's concession, subject to his authority [137].

King Emanuel remained ever mindful of this grave pontifical injunction. When Vasco de Gama had returned from his voyage to Calcutta, the king of Portugal equipped another fleet for the Indies, and, as messengers of the faith, sent along with it the Franciscan Father, Henry of Coimbra, afterwards bishop of Ceuta, who was given by the Roman Pontiff all the powers and faculties that might be needed ; and a few priests of the same Order and seven brothers went along with him.

Cabral set sail from Cadiz on the 13th day of March, 1500 [138], and unexpectedly saw the coast of Brazil, of which he took possession in the name of Portugal, by erecting a high cross, that gave to it, for some years, the name of the Land of the Holy Cross. On this occasion Father Coimbra said the first Holy Mass in Brazil on the 24th of April, 1500 [139].

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137. See Document 102.

138. Not in 1502, as is wrongly given by Becchetti, Ultimi Quattro Secoli, t. VI, p. 323.

139. Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 212.

A caravel was sent back to Portugal to tell the good news ; and in A. D. 1503, a new exploring expedition was sent out, together with some Minorites, who attempted the conversion of the natives with greater courage than success. Their blood watered a soil, that, after a few years, brought most abundant fruit [140].

Cabral with his other vessels left Brazil during the next month of May, and doubling the Cape of Good Hope, finally landed in the city of Calcutta. Here the populace, instigated by Egyptian and Mohammedan merchants, fell upon the Portuguese who had gone ashore, and maltreated and killed a number of them. Father Coimbra and four of his brethren just managed to reach the vessels, though not without being seriously wounded. After avenging this treachery, Cabral sailed for Cochin, where he and the missionaries were well received, and where the Franciscan friars commenced their evangelical labors, towards the end of the year 1500 [141].

Here they met that ancient race of Christians, who claimed that the apostle St. Thomas had baptized their ancestors, and who welcomed the Portuguese as their saviors from the tyranny they had to suffer from the neighboring princes. These poor people readily abandoned the errors into which they had fallen through long intercourse with heretics and infidels and became again the first fruits of conversion [142].

Before the return of Cabral, Giovanni de Nueva was sent to India, and four more Franciscan Fathers accompanied him [143]. Sons of St. Dominic also arrived in India, together with Albuquerque, in the year 1503, but these took charge only of the church of Cochin, while those of St. Francis rapidly extended the circle of their missionary activities [144].

140. Ibid., p. 262.
141. Ibid., p. 213.
142. Ibid., p. 246.
143. Becchetti, Ultimi Quattro Secoli, t. VI, p. 323.
144. Neher, in Kirchenlexicon, Art. Indie, col. 664.

Happy must have been the last years of pope Alexander VI, when divine Providence allowed him to bless, year after year, the departing Christian heralds that were leaving Europe to announce the Good Tiding to the three other parts of the earth ! At no time, indeed, since that of the Apostles, did the Church give signs of more vigor of life, did she extend her branches more widely, than during the reign of this Pontiff. And yet, this is the very epoch at which she is represented as having fallen into corruption and lying almost lifeless, in need of a complete restoration and rejuvenation.

CHAPTER III.

Reform of the Church.

ARTICLE I. — NECESSITY OF REFORM.

One element of the Church on earth, namely, her members, both cleric and lay, being human and fallible, we should not wonder if she found, even from her first days, occasion to reform some abuses ; and if, as years and centuries go by, she is continually at work, correcting, after the pattern of her divine doctrine, the errors and vices that successively disturb her.

During and after the Schism of the West many evils had crept into the ranks of the higher clergy, especially in the German empire. Bishops and abbots were, nearly all, noblemen, who followed the manner of living and the lax morals of the nobility, collecting the revenues of their churches, which they hardly ever saw, and caring not in the least for the faithful confided to them [1]. In the diocese of Strassburg there was no mitre nor croisier for a long time, without their need being ever felt [2]. The example of the prelates exerted its influence upon the lower clergy, while their exactions tempted many a humble village pastor to increase his scant income with the earnings of some secondary business, often incompatible with his vocation [3]. Yet, Wimpheling, this severe judge of mundane and inactive clergymen, attests that in the six dioceses along the Rhine he found many, nay innumerable secular

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1. Jo. Nider, Formicarius ; Janssen, Gesch. des Deutschen Volkes. Bd. I, s. 602.

2. Janssen, ibid., s. 603. — At the beginning of the protestant reformation no less than eighteen German dioceses and archdioceses were in the hands of sons of secular princes.

3. Ibid., s. 601.

priests, having care of souls, distinguished for their learning and their purity of morals [4].

Nowhere, at the time, was correction of abuses more needed than in Germany, although it was the papal city of Rome that was considered as being the principal cause of the clamors that arose, demanding a reform of the Church. And, indeed, some members of the pontifical court were bringing it into unfavorable repute. Already at the conclave of pope Paul II and at subsequent conclaves, had cardinal de Borgia, like the other electors, promised under oath, that, in case he should be elected Pope, he would commence the reform of the Roman court, in its head and in its members, within three months after his coronation, and would thenceforth continue till it should be fully accomplished [5]. The fact of this promise, being constantly one of the election capitulations of the end of the fifteenth century [6], proves not only the notoriety of the wrongs committed within the Roman court, but also the difficulty of their prevention.

Apart from the Roman Curia and the convents, Symonds says [7], there existed a hierarchy of able and God-fearing men, who by the sanctity of their lives, by the gravity of their doctrine, by the eloquence of their preaching, by their ministration to the sick, by the relief of the poor, by the maintenance of hospitals, monti di Pietà, schools and orphanages, kept alive in the people of Italy the ideal, at least, of a religion pure and undefiled before God.

The perfect type of Christianity was cast aside by the Italian neo-pagan writers or poets, as they were often called, whose morals had been corrupted by the revival of old paganism in literature ; but the common people did not, indeed, lose sight of the religious ideal, as we may see from the great number

4. Ibid., s. 599.
5. Card. Papiensis, Epist. et Comment. fo 350vo ; Burchard, Diar., vol. III, p. 297, n.
6. Burchard, Diar., vol. I, p. 49.
7. Renaissance in Italy, p. 429.

of saints who flourished in Italy at the time[8] and who, while leading a holy life themselves, excited by their word an example the spirit of religion in the hearts of thousands of their contemporaries. A similar manifestation of lively faith presents itself in other Catholic countries. There are, for instance, St. Casimir in Poland ; St. Jeane of Valois, John Burgeois, John Tisserant in France ; the Venerable Claudia Meansoea in Switzerland ; Amedeus IX who died in odor of sanctity in Savoy ; St. John a Facundo or of Sahagun, St. Peter of Arbues, the venerable John Hortelano in Spain, the Blessed Peter, a Minorite, born at Treguanda in the territory of Siena[9], and in Portugal the holy infanta Juana. A generation that brought forth so many models of Christian perfection was not one of a depraved morality ; nor does such abundant fruit of holiness ripen on a tree that is rotten and decayed.

It has been customary to exaggerate the necessity of reform, in order to justify the German revolt against the Church ; but if the German higher clergy had paid their dues for her support, and the temporal lords had co-operated towards her defense against the Turks, they would not have clamoured, as they did, against her alleged corruption. The condition of the Church,especially her independence from kings and princes was immensely improved since the middle of the fifteenth century, and she was slowly but steadily progressing in purity and vigor of spiritual life. Pope Eugene IV had tried by his constitutions to restore the ancient discipline among the members of his Curia, Pius II had been known for his severity and Paul II had continued the efforts of his predecessor and succeeded in reducing his officials to a fairly strict mode of living.

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8. See Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 32, seq. ; Becchetti, Ultimi Quattro Secoli, t. VI, p. 310 ; Christophe, Hist. de la Papauté, t. II, p. 456, 458.

9. Bzovius, continuatio Baronii, Ad. an. 1492, no. 57.

There were, however, at the beginning of the reign of pope Alexander VI many abuses, that still required correction ; some proceeding from the interference of the temporal powers in ecclesiastical affairs, others consisting in the wrongs of the papal court, and others again being the public vices of clergy and laity. It was one of the pre-election stipulations of his conclave, that the cardinal who would be elected, should bind himself under oath to celebrate, as soon as it could easily be done, a general council, for the reform of the universal Church, in regard to the life and morals of both the secular and the regular clergy, and of the military Orders, in regard to princes and Communities, and about all that pertains to justice of the Roman church [10].

It is true that pope Alexander VI did not celebrate a general council, prevented, as he was, by the wars and political disturbances that filled the whole of his reign ; but is it true also, that he did not do anything for the sake of reform, as Reumont [11], Pastor [12], Brueck [13] and others generally assure us ; or is it not rather a fact, that he was the greatest reformer of his epoch, almost constantly at work to secure, either by general measures or more effectually by private decrees, the improvements that seemed the most needed ?

Manfredo de' Manfredi, the Ferrarese envoy at Florence, wrote already on the 17th of August, 1492: " From Rome there is no news other than that the Holy Father has promised to do a great many things for the reform of the court " [14]. He

10. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad an. 1484, no. XXXI.—Thuasne, Burchard, Diar., vol. I, p. 49, notices two readings of his author by Raynaldi, differing from his own. We prefer to follow Raynaldi, because the Annalist had the opportunity to copy Burchard's original, which Thuasne had not. Nor has the French editor a right to say, without proof, in his " Avertissement ". Ibid., p. V, that Raynaldi omits " volontairement " or changes " à dessein " certain words or parts of phrases.

11. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 248.

12. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 484.

13. Hist. of the Cathol. Church, vol. II, p. 45.

14. Cappelli, Atti e Memorie, vol. IV, p. 323.

mistakes when foretelling the details, but we learn from others that the first acts of the new Pontiff inspired the general confidence, that his reign would be glorious, as Manfredi adds.

Pope Alexander VI was but a few months on the throne, when his attention was called to the sad condition of ecclesiastical affairs in England, and he wrote at once, on the 5th of June, 1493, to his nuncio in that country, Hadrian Castellesi, whom he afterwards elevated to the cardinalitial dignity: " We have heard ", he says " not without much displeasure, that in the kingdom of England there are a great many churches, monasteries, priories and other places of piety, secular and regular of different exempted Orders, of either sex, deformed in several respects as to matters both spiritual and temporal, and that their prelates and rectors are noted for their negligence in the discharge of their duties and for other transgressions; and are deserving of punishment. All this ought not to go on without the application of a remedy. We, therefore, having full confidence in your prudence and trusting that you will faithfully execute whatever We may see fit to confide to you ; We commit and command to you by our apostolic letter to go in person, and as often as you shall find it useful, to those churches, monasteries, priories and places of piety of the said kingdom and to their exempted inmates ; and, having only in view God, the salvation of souls and the welfare of those institutions, to investigate, reform and correct them, both in their head and in their members, according to the decrees of the canon law and the statutes of their Orders. And. with apostolic authority, We give you by these presents full and free faculty to canonically visit those institutions, and their prelates, communities, rectors and every single person living in them, of whatever dignity, state, degree, order or condition they may be ; and to correct, reform and regulate whatever you may find to be in need of reform ; also to fine, chastise and punish, according to the quality of their excesses

and crimes, those that are delinquent, disobedient or rebellious ; also to send them to another monastery, and to replace them with other religious ; also to change, correct, supply and renew the statutes and customs of the said churches and monasteries, priories and places, and of their inmates ; and, if useful, to establish and prescribe other new laws ; also to cohibit all contradictors and rebels by ecclesiastical censures and other legal means, without appeal ; and, as often as need be, to invoke the aid of the temporal power ; in a word, to do all that you may see to be useful " [15].

This letter, affecting, as it does, all the religious institutions of a whole country, was evidently a most important document. Another of no less weight followed it soon. On the 18th of July, 1493, was issued the bull " Dudum certis ", by which the Pontiff prescribed the reform of the " Conventuales ", sometimes named the " Claustrales ", consisting of that branch of the Franciscan Order, which, legitimately availed itself of the mitigations made by several Pontiffs in the original rule of St. Francis of Assisi ; but there were, at this epoch, many friars who dispensed themselves, not only of the rules of the Minor Order, but even of some of the Ten commandments [16]. Had this bull been better observed, many scandals would have been spared the Church and the necessity of several subsequent reforms would have been avoided.

ARTICLE II. — REFORM OF THE ROMAN COURT.

Pope Alexander VI could not execute his design of a general reform of the Roman court, but he did, from time to time, give orders and make regulations to improve its various colleges of officials.

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15. See Document 103.

16. Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 60.

When requested by the kings of Spain to allow cardinal Giovanni de Borgia to act as one of their ambassadors, and to walk at the left side of Diego Lopez de Haro, their special envoy at their solemn act of obeisance, the Pontiff refused them the honor, in order to safeguard the cardinalitial dignity, considering it unbecoming for cardinals to be ministers to any but to the Sovereign Pontiff and the apostolic See [17]. While averse to see them lower their station by serving temporal princes, he was anxious to have them constantly at hand for the service of religion, and insisted on their residence in the City. To this effect, he declared in the consistory of 14th of July, 1498, that cardinals who did not stay at court during the year, should not enjoy the privileges of those residing in Rome [18]. He also issued letters according to which cardinals were to lose, during the time of their absence from court, even though with his permission, the favors granted to those who would remain at their post [19].

Nor did he insist on the presence in Rome of the cardinals only. On the 22d of August, 1493, he published an ordinance, depriving of their emoluments all members of the Roman court for the time of their absence, even though the pest was then desolating the City [20], and again, on the 29th of July of the following year, he strictly admonished the officials of the chancery, who were extending their vacation, to return to court and attend to their duties [21].

Another reform regarding the Sacred College was made at the consistory of January the 9th, 1499, when the Pontiff approved that the portion of quarterly distributions, due to a deceased cardinal, should be integrally paid to his heirs, no

17. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXVIII, 60.
18. Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds Lat., Cod. 12555 : Decret. consistor. ab Alex. VI usque ad Urban. VIII, fo 1vo.
19. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I ad XI. Lib. V, Regest. 871, fo 290vo.
20. Rome, Bibl. Barberini, Cod. XXXV, 94, fo 270vo.
21. Ibid., fo 173.

longer to the papal treasury, as it was generally done, according to an ancient custom, with the estates of deceased curials who had enjoyed ecclesiastical benefices [22]; and, should there be no heirs in Rome, then the money should be spent for alms or for Masses to be said for the benefit of his soul. It was a further innovation, when it was made a duty of the camerlengo of the Sacred College, to remind the Holy Father and the members of the College of the Masses to be celebrated in their chapel, on the anniversaries of the deceased cardinals ; so that all might assist, according to an ancient and praiseworthy custom [23].

Already on the 28th of September, 1493, pope Alexander VI issued a bull by which all apostolic notaries and their substitutes were compelled under severe censures to contribute their share towards the religious services of their college and to assist at the reunions of its members [24].

It happened that, when the " taxatores " were gathered to determine the taxes to be imposed on apostolic letters, other persons, ecclesiastic and lay, intruded upon them, to dispute the amounts set, or to try to read papal documents issued for others. The Pontiff, therefore, on the 24th of March, 1495, forbade the abuse under pain of excommunication [25].

One of the principal complaints against the court of Rome was the venality of justice, nor did it seem to be altogether undeserved. The Pontiff, however, tried to put a stop to the evil, almost from the beginning of his reign. By his orders and with his authority, cardinal Raphael Riario, the Pope's " Camerarius ", or Supervisor of his treasury, published, on the 19th of October, 1495, a decree directed to the governor

22. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Julii II. Div. Cam. 1502-1508. Lib. VI. Armar. 29. no. 55. fo 84vo.

23. Paris, ubi supra, p. 5vo ; Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXVI, 7, fo 7vo, seqq.

24. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. II. Lib. IV. Regest. 870, fo 28vo.

25. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. de Curia, an. I ad X, t. I, Regest. 874, f° 16.

and to all the officers and officials of justice, not only of the Roman court, but of every city within the province of the Patrimony, forbidding them, under the most severe penalties and the indignation of the Holy Father, to ask for any presents, " sportulas ", or to accept them, even when freely offered, on the occasion of any civil, criminal or mixed lawsuit ; and declaring null and void any sentence pronounced by judges who had received or were to receive such presents [26].

To procure full liberty of action to litigants before the Roman tribunals, the Pontiff issued a bull on the 13th of September, 1502. By the one called " In Cena Domini ", and published every year on Holy Thursday, were excommunicated all who should beat, maim of kill any one, cleric or lay, who was introducing or defending his cause before the judges of Rome, or any of his procurators or delegates, lawyers or witnesses [27]. Yet, this penalty did not deter wicked people from further committing such crimes, robbing the property of their antagonists or making dire threats, to make them abandon the defense of their lawsuits or come to unfavorable compromises. To prevent these evils, the Pope confirmed the penalty of the bull " In Cena Domini ", and announced that, moreover, all those malefactors, no matter how high their worldly or ecclesiastical dignity, nor whether their threats were carried out or not ; besides also their accessories, advisers and protectors, should lose their suit, should be exiled forever from the Pontifical States ; and should mayhem or murder have taken place, that they should be deprived of all their dignities, offices and benefices and forfeit all their property, and that they should be declared outlaws, infamous and incapable of possessing. They were to be denounced,

26. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam., 1495-1497. Lib. 2, Armar., 29, no. 51.

27. See Document 94 § 10.

and the informer would, if an accomplice, get impunity ; if an innocent, secure a favor [28].

Another branch of the Roman court, that, namely, whose direct object was the salvation of souls, also received the Pontiff's earnest attention. The following brief shows what care pope Alexander VI took to reëstablish and maintain the standard of excellence of the college of pontifical penitentiaries.

" To our beloved sons, the Minor Penitentiaries of the Basilica of the prince of the Apostles in the City. "

" Alexander VI Pope. Beloved Sons, Health and apostolic benediction. We consider that you and the occasionally deputed penitentiaries, who, in our stead, are the judges of souls, to whom the faithful of Christ come from all parts of the world, to purify their consciences, to confess their sins and to humbly receive the penances enjoined ; you ought to be chosen men, recommended by a moral life and excelling in knowledge. Now, therefore, wishing that your college may henceforth flourish with men of that kind, We establish and ordain by these presents, from our own volition, with full knowledge and with apostolic authority, that hereafter and for all future time, no one can or must, in any manner, be admitted to your college, or to the customary private examen, unless he has previously answered publicly and satisfactorily the questions to be designated by you, according to the tenor and mode published thereabout in the statutes of your college ; not even under the pretext of any letters whatsoever that might be issued by ourselves or the apostolic See. Nor shall any one be received or admitted as a substitute penitentiary or as an assistant of any kind, at a time of concourse of people or at any other time, even under pretext of any commands or letters, unless he has previously taken the cus-

28. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar., an. IX, X, t. LXXX. Regest. 851, f° 180.

stomary oaths and has been examined about his life and morals, as contained in your regulations, and has been found competent ; and then only in so far as there is need of such help, and not otherwise ; without prejudice, however, of the Great Penitentiary. And we decree that it be invalid and void, if it should happen that any one, even ourselves, should, with any authority, knowingly or ignorantly, attempt to do to the contrary. Notwithstanding etc. Given at St. Peter's in Rome, under the seal of the fisherman, the 26th day of August, 1497, of our pontificate the sixth year " [29].

A record of the most noteworthy consistorial acts [30] relates that the statutes of the treasury of the Sacred College were, in their turn, revised during the reign of pope Alexander VI. On Wednesday, the 9th of January, 1499, the Most Reverend Cardinals made some reforms and additions to the constitution, received during the second year of pope Paul II, for the office of treasurer of the Sacred College ; and these were all authorized and approved by our Holy Father, in the seventh year of his pontificate, as it is there said.

From all these particular instances of reform it appears that pope Alexander VI was not slow in trying to improve the various colleges constituting the court of Rome. Nor is he to blame for every abuse of his officials; for, while he made the most stringent laws against existing evils and set some examples of severe punishment, yet many of his subordinates continued the practices which he had proscribed. We shall here give but one instance of such disobedience, which proves, moreover, that the Pontiff was active also in correcting still another court department. The fact is reported by one of the cardinals who co-operated towards pope Alexander's great project of reform, not only of his court but of the whole Catholic Church : " There are ", the cardinal says, " in the

29. See Document 104.

30. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXVI, 7, fs 6; Paris, Bibl. Nation. Cod. 12555, fo 5vo.

Registry three orders of employees : the magistri, the clerici and the scriptores. Although it has been forbidden by our Holy Father, under the most severe penalties, even of pecuniary fines and of deprivation of their position, to take out of the office building the quires of paper whereon to make the records and supplicas, yet, they take them away to their homes, in spite of many threats and admonitions of the Datary ; and if the magistri and the clerici see them do it, they are not willing to reprimand them ! Let Your Eminences consider what a dangerous thing that is "—making easy the forgery of Vatican records—" he adds " [31].

Besides his court, in particular, there was the diocese of Rome generally, an object of the immediate care and responsibility of pope Alexander VI. He governed this charge through a most worthy bishop, James Serra, at whose elevation to the cardinalitial dignity, he appointed, on the 28th of September 1500, Anthony Civalerio, bishop of Venosa, who is described as a man " of commendable life, of good morals, of tried fidelity, of prudence and of other virtues ". The Pope established him as his Vicar general of the diocese of Rome and its suburbs, with the faculty and duty to do whatever pertains to the office, and, especially, " to visit the churches, monasteries and other places of piety, secular and regular of whatever Order, exempt or not exempt, as also their inmates ; and to fine, correct and punish their excesses and crimes [32], as he may see fit in the Lord to do " [33].

Thus did the Pontiff perform his duties towards the center of the Catholic world ; but his interference was necessitated by many evils in various parts of the whole Catholic world. The work of a universal reform was one of his cherished schemes, yet too vast for one Pontiff to accomplish. In the

31. Bibl. Vatic. Lat., Cod. 3883, f° 56.
32. As the legal phrase was.
33. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar., an. VIII, t. LXV, Regest. 836, f° 217vo.

meantime, he used both general and particular measures to abolish or restrict the abuses that were reported to him.

ARTICLE III. — GENERAL MEANS OF REFORM.

The celebration of provincial councils and of diocesan synods always proved to be one of the most efficacious means of general improvement. We have noticed how cardinal de Borgia utilized the short time that he was allowed in his diocese of Valencia, to celebrate a synod with his clergy and how, while a legate in Spain, he held, in the year 1473, the council of Segorve or Madrid. After his election to the Papacy, he encouraged archbishops and bishops to follow the example that he had set, and even tried to extend to the religious Orders the benefits of similar assemblies. According to the decrees of several Pontiffs, and of pope Calixtus III in particular, the Benedictine Fathers, divided into various congregations or provinces, were to celebrate, every three years, their provincial chapters, because of the good that resulted from them. It happened, however, that, in many ultramontane provinces, these chapters were neglected by monasteries, priories and so-called conventual houses of the Order. To prevent the disregard, pope Alexander VI, imposed, on the 1st of August, 1494, on the delinquent communities a fine in proportion to their revenues, payable every year, till they should join one of the nearest provinces and assist at the triennial chapters [34].

When king Henri VII of England requested the Pontiff to provide for a better ecclesiastical government of Ireland, it was the holding of a council that was prescribed as the remedy of the alleged evils. Pope Alexander VI, on the 28th

34. Vienna, Archiv des Benedictiner Stiftes zu den Schotten, Scrin. 56. A. no. 20 j.

of October, 1496, commanded the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of Durham, Bath, Wells and London, to name able archbishops, bishops or prelates, who should convoke in a fit locality all the archbishops, bishops, clergy and people of the island. These prelates were to speak at the meeting of the concerns and of the good government of the churches, clergy and people, and make provisions according to the teachings of the Holy Fathers and the sanctions of canon law ; and were to restrain all contradictors and rebels by means of the censures of the Church and other remedies of the law. And to do this, he at the same time gave them, with apostolic authority, full and free power. Notwithstanding all apostolic constitutions and the published regulations of the former apostolic legates in that kingdom, Otto and Ottoboni, and all else to the contrary [35].

Although not directly ordered by the Pontiff, an unusual number of councils and synods took place during the reign of pope Alexander VI. The following are known :

In the year 1493, were held : A provincial council, at the metropolitan church of Gran, in Hungary, by cardinal Hippolit d'Este, and some very useful statutes were enacted [36] ;

A synod, celebrated by the bishop of Schleswig, Eggert Dürrkopf, whose statutes were printed at Lübeck in 1498 [37] ;

Under archbishop William Joyce, a provincial council of Tuam, in Ireland, at which, among others, the suffragan, Thomas, bishop of Killala, assisted [38] ;

And so also the synod of Mondoñedo, in Galicia, by bishop Alfonsus Suarez de la Fuente del Salce [39].

There are recorded for the year 1494 : A diocesan synod of Nitro, in Hungary [40];

35. Rymer, Foedera, t. XII, p. 643 ; Wilkins, Concilia Magnae Britan. et Hibern., t. III, p. 644.
36. Hefele und Hergenroether, Conciliengesch. Bd. VIII, s. 363.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid., s. 364 ; Gams, Series Episcop., p. 232, 224.
39. Ibid., Gams, p. 52.
40. Ibid., s. 363.

One at Besançon, in France [41] ;

A provincial council, held by archbishop Frederic, at Petrikau, in Poland [42] ;

Another, celebrated at Cordova, in Spain, by bishop Inigo Manrique de Lara [43] ;

A diocesan synod, by bishop Olaüs Rogwaldson of Holar, in Iceland [44] ;

And finally, the one held by cardinal Oliver Caraffa in his diocese of Sabina, whose statutes, twenty in number, prescribe the conditions of admittance to the clerical order, and wise rules of behavior for those admitted [45].

To the year 1495 belongs the diocesan synod of Treves, which archbishop, John of Baden, held for the reform of the Benedictine convent of St. Irmina, in that city [46].

On Thursday after " Misericordia ", or second Sunday after Easter of the same year, synodical statutes were decreed and published by John Simon, bishop of Paris [47].

At the request of king Henri VII, a provincial council was celebrated in York, on the Monday following the feast of the Ascension of Our Lord, that is, on the 16th of May, 1495. The clergy granted on this occasion a full tithe for the defense of the kingdom against Scotland [48].

A council was likewise held in the province of Canterbury, on the 19th of October, 1495, at which the patriotism of the churchmen was shown by the concession of a tithe to the lord king [49].

Henry VII was sorely pressed by the king of Scotland, James IV, but the clergy of the Canterbury archdiocese held

41. Ibid., s. 364.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid., p. 365.
46. Hefele, ibid., s. 358.
47. Dion. Samarthanus, Gallia Sacra, t. VII.
48. Wilkins, Concilia Magnae Britan. et Hibern., vol. III, p. 644.
49. Wilkins, ibid.

another provincial gathering, on the 23d of January, 1496, and granted him another forty thousand pound [50].

During the same year 1496 : The bishop of Worms, John von Dalberg, ordered that the abuses of his diocese be reported to him and corrected, and thus originated the " Synodalia of Worms " [51].

Bishop John IV von Roth celebrated in Breslau a synod, at which no statutes were issued [52].

A synod was held by archbishop Birger of Lund, then in Denmark, in which the morals of the clergy were regulated [53].

We have spoken already of the orders given by pope Alexander VI for the celebration of a national council in Ireland. Was it in consequence of his bull that

A provincial council was held in Armagh, under archbishop Octavian de Palatio and

Another in Dublin, under archbishop Walter Fitzsimons, in the year 1496 [54] ?

Ulrich IV von Liechtenstein, prince-bishop of Trent, celebrated a diocesan synod, in the year 1496 ; and again in the following year [55].

In 1497 were also celebrated : In February, by bishop Luke Weissbroth, a diocesan synod, at Heilsberg, for Ermeland [56];

On April 9th, a synod in Konstanz, by bishop Hugo von Hohenledenberg [57] ;

On the 26th of April, a provincial council of York, for the granting of another subsidy to king Henry VII, who received two full tenths of the church revenues, and another tenth was promised him on the condition that he or his lieutenant would take the field against the Scotch invader, before the 1st of November [58].

50 Wilkins, ibid., 645.
51. Hefele, ibid., s. 368.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. Hefele, ibid., s. 368.
55. Kirchenlexicon, Art. Trient, col. 2031.
56. Ibid., s. 369.
57. Ibid.
58. Wilkins, ibid., p. 646 ; Hefele, ibid., s. 646.

On the 27th of July, a diocesan synod at Palma, in the Canaries, by bishop Didacus de Muros [59].

At Breslau, bishop John von Roth renewed in 1497 his synod of the previous year, which he completed by issuing certain statutes [60].

Franciscus Ximenez, archbishop of Toledo, celebrated in Alcala his first diocesan synod during the same year.

In 1498 he held his second, at which many of his clergy assisted, in the city of Talavera. At both a number of statutes were published for the reform of the secular clergymen [61].

The synod of Badajoz was held, also in 1498, by bishop John Rodriguez Fonseca [62].

In the year 1499, another provincial synod took place in Badajoz, under its new bishop, Alfons Manrique [63];

So also that of Pamplona, under the administration of cardinal Antoniotto Pallavicini [64] ;

There was also the one of Mainz, celebrated by its archbishop, Berthold von Henneberg [65].

The year 1500 saw the diocesan synod of Kammin, in Pomerania, held by bishop Martin Carith [66].

And one is mentioned, for that year, as held in Cujavia, then in Poland, in Prussia to-day ;

So is also the synod of Wilna, in Lithuania, celebrated by bishop Albert [67].

About the same time, bishop Didacus Deza celebrated a diocesan synod in Palencia, and

On the 12th of May, 1500, bishop Peter Vaz Gaviaõ held one at Guardia, in Portugal [68].

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59. Hefele, s. 370 ; Gams, p. 22.
60. Hefele, s. 368.
61. Wadding, Annal. Min. t. XV, p. 158 ; Hefele, s. 370.
62. Gams, p. 11 ; Hefele, ibid.
63. Gams, p. 11 ; Hefele, s. 370.
64. Gams, p. 11; Hefele, s. 370.
65. Hefele, s. 371.
66. Hefele, s. 371.
67. Hefele, s. 372.
68. Gams, p. 61, 101 ; Hefele, s. 372.

In 1501 a synod was held at Arras, in France, by the vicar of the cathedral chapter, James Millon, together with the abbots of Arrouais d'Eaucourt and Marchiane [69].

A council of the province of Canterbury was commenced in St. Paul's cathedral of London on the 14th of February, 1501, transferred to Canterbury on the 21st and prolonged till the 15th of October 1502. Its main object was the concession of a tithe and of other subsidies to the Supreme Pontiff, against the Turks [70].

Bishop Kaspar von zu Rhein held also, in the year 1502, his synod in Basel, as he was used to do every year [71].

The foregoing list, although very incomplete, of clerical assemblies mainly intended for the correction of local abuses, may suggest an idea of the improvements made in ecclesiastical discipline during the reign of pope Alexander VI. Neither did similar gatherings of the regular clergy, their provincial and their general chapters, remain without salutary results.

A second means of reform, more direct and immediate, used by the Pontiff, was the appointment of his legates and envoys, as papal agents, provided with full power to discover, punish and prevent all misbehavior and wrongdoing within the territories of their jurisdiction. He had, in the beginning of his reign, established Hadrian Castellesi, his nuncio in England, to act as such an official. In the year 1500, he chose cardinal Raymund Pérault, to be his legate in Germany and Denmark, and, likewise, gave him the faculty and charge of reforming the clergy and especially the religious houses of those countries. In a proclamation of the 25th of March, 1503, cardinal Pérault declares that pope Alexander VI had

69. Hefele, s. 372.
70. Wilkins, Concil. Magnae Britan. et Hibern., vol III, p. 646, 647.
71 Hefele, s. 372.

confided to him the general revision of the monasteries of his legation [72]. In fact, the legate ordered, in the year 1502, the reform of the monastery of Nuys, below Cologne, to be made by the archbishop of the province and the abbots of Lara of the Benedictine, and of Zons of the Premonstratensian Order [73]. He made the visitation of many more communities, and greatly favored those that he found to observe their rules, but severely punished the vices of clergymen and concubinage in particular. At the same time he was defending the rights of the Church and restoring peace among princes and cities [74].

What Raymund Pérault did for Germany, George d'Amboise accomplished for France. This cardinal was made a papal legate to the latter country on the 5th of April, 1501 [75]. On the same day he received a pontifical brief, by which he was empowered and commissioned to visit, by himself or by another, within the duration and limits of his legation, each one of the universities and their colleges, the cathedral chapters, the religious communities, exempt and not exempt, and each one of the persons belonging to them ; to correct them according to his discretion ; to reform or to annul, to amend or to change their constitution, rites and customs, no matter by what authority they might have been granted or confirmed, and to establish other salutary regulations and statutes, as it might seem advantageous to him, taking into consideration the circumstances of persons and times ; to further ordain in all such matters whatever was necessary or useful ; to have these ordinances observed under pain of ecclesiastical penalties, and to restrain all contradictors with the censures of the Church and other legal measures [76].

72. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 484, footn. 6.

73. Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 260.

74. Ciaconius, Vitae Pontiff., Roman., t. III, col. 172 ; von Hefele and Hergenroether, Conciliengesch. Bd. VIII, s. 364.

75. Not in 1500, as asserted by Anquetil, Hist. de France, t. 6, p. 34.

76. See Document 105.

The cardinal d'Amboise was particularly well chosen for the difficult task of monastic reform in France, because of the high consideration which he enjoyed with king Louis XII, who, on account of his virtuous life, his prudence and experience, allowed him the administration of every important concern in his kingdom [77]. This authority served him well in meeting the opposition which he encountered from the various monasteries of the city of Paris, that were sheltering the numerous younger monks and novices of their Orders, who frequented the famous university. He deputed two bishops to visit the communities, but when these presented themselves at the Dominican house of the Rue St. Jacques [78], its four hundred students raised such an uproar, that the whole city was brought into commotion, and that the authority of King and parliament was needed to reduce them to order. They were afterwards dispersed among the Dominican houses of France, and the best monks of the Teutonic province were called to replace those of St. James of Paris. The Minors Conventual exposed the Blessed Sacrament on the day and hour set for the opening of the visitation and protracted their devotions for four consecutive hours ; but were forced, after all, to yield to the inquest and correction by the threat of losing their monastery in favor of the Observantines. Their humble begging averted this latter measure, and they were allowed to be reformed by two dozen of their own most respectable Fathers, summoned from their communities of Amboise, Blois, Bourges and Autun. The reform was also extended to the monastery of the Benedictines and gave rise to the model Congregation of Chesal Benoît, replaced by the one, yet more renowned, of St. Maur [79].

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77. Dion. Samarthanus, Gallia Christiana, t. XI, p. 94.

78. Hence their name of Jacobins : Anquetil, Hist. de France, vol. 6, p. 34.

79. Becchetti, Ultimi Quattro Secoli, t. VI, p. 321.

The cardinal d'Amboise used a strong hand in the correction of many relaxed communities, while he fostered those that had kept their ancient rules, and he encouraged the religious families that were commencing at the time [80]. He did, in particular, confirm the reform of the renowned female convent of Chelles, which John Simon, bishop of Paris, had, with great pains, succeeded in improving through the introduction into it of religieuses from Fontevrault [81]. He also appointed as his deputy for the correction of churches, colleges, monasteries and convents of the provinces of Bourges, Narbonne and Toulouse, his brother, Louis d'Amboise, bishop of Albi, to whom king Louis XII gave, on the 22d of March, 1502, special letters, to insure the success of his odious, but important charge [82].

In countries where he had no nuncio or legate charged with the duties of a general reformer, pope Alexander VI named other ecclesiastical dignitaries to perform the work of correction. During the first year of his reign, on the 27th of July, 1493, he appointed Martin Ponce, archbishop of Messina ; Peter Ximenez de Prexamo, bishop of Coria, and the bishop of Catania, Francis Garcias, as universal reformers in the kingdoms of Spain and Aragon, and gave them full power of going, either together or separately, as often as it might seem useful, in company with the Ordinary or his vicar general and with some religious and good men, to each monastery and religious house of either sex, and investigate each one, in its head and in its members, in matters spiritual and temporal ; and, if they should find anything needing reform or correction, they were to correct and amend it according to the canonical sanctions and the rules of the respective Orders. He granted them authority to command their inmates, under pain of sus-

80. Ciaconius, Vitae Pontiff., Roman., t. III, col. 188.

81. Samarthanus, ubi supra, t. VII.

82. Ibid., t. I, p. 35.

pension and excommunication, and of privation of the dignities and offices which they might hold, to observe the regulations, that the reformers might see fit to make ; to punish the delinquents in proportion to their crimes and excesses ; and, should their offenses deserve it, to expel them and replace them with monks and nuns from other monasteries and convents ; finally, to further do and execute whatever else they might consider to be necessary or useful to the cause of reform [83].

At the request of Philip, archduke of Austria, who complained that there were in his States many monasteries and convents, where the friars and nuns were living dishonest, lascivious lives, the Pontiff ordered an inquest and a consequent reform to be made. He addressed, on the 20th of October, 1501, a letter to His beloved sons, the Fathers, abbots, Generals, Provincials or Guardians and all other superiors of either male or female institutions of the archduchy, and gave them the charge of investigating and correcting the abuses of the religious houses. Each of these superiors was to make the canonical visitation, accompanied by two monks of the Order to which the monasteries or convents belonged, already reformed and named by the Ordinaries, provided that such companions, if they should be of the Order of Minors, must be under the obedience of the Minister general. It was stated, however, that the reformers should visit an institution but once and that no transfer of friars or nuns from one house to another should take place [84].

ARTICLE IV. — SPECIAL DEPUTIES FOR PARTICULAR REFORMS.

Nor did pope Alexander VI content himself with appointing general reformers for the various provinces of the

83. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I, II, III. Lib. III. Regest. 869, f° 129.

84. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. 8 ad XI. Lib. II, Regest. 868, p. 139.

Church. He had also, on several occasions, his particular deputies for special cases of reform. Already on the 15th of December 1492, he had authorized a monk, named Peter, of the Benedictine monastery of Cuxan, in the diocese of Perpignan, to make, with the consent of one half of the community, some salutary statutes and regulations for the improvement of that house ; and he decreed that, when so introduced, these new statutes should be considered as confirmed by apostolic authority and to be observed forever. And, to insure success, he abolished the deanery under which the community was governed, and made the zealous monk, Peter, its independent abbot [85].

He commissioned, on the 8th of April, 1494, Berthold, abbot of Adelberg, to reform the Collegiate church of Wyssenstayg. Berthold, prevented by his own affairs from executing the papal order, transmitted it to John, abbot of Bebenhusen, who, the following year, suppressed five canonries of Wyssenstayg, and awarded the patronage of the church to the count of Helfenstein [86].

On the 24th of July of the year 1496, the Pontiff delegated William de Heyck, abbot of the Benedictine house of Luxemburg, and reformer of several monasteries of his own Order and of that of Cluny, to go and examine the institution of S. Maria Rotunda of Etal and to make some regulations for the improvement of monastic discipline [87].

One of the most active agents employed by the Pontiff to restore the observance of monastic discipline in Italy was Peter Delphino, superior general of the Camaldulese Benedictine Congregation. This zealous monk wrote, on the 6th of June, 1496, " To pope Alexander VI : Your Holiness has,

85. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI Bullar. An. I, II, t. VII, Regest. 778, f° 168.

86. Munich, Reichsarchiv. Regesta, 1494 III and 1495 II.

87. Munich, Reichsarchiv., Regest. 1496, III.

some time ago, given me the charge of reforming the abbey of St. Felix, situated in the center of Florence. It has been done as you have commanded, Most Holy Father, and care has been taken of that place according to its need, having met with the high approval and commendation of the whole city. I have given them for abbot the one that they requested from me, and in whose activity they had the greatest confidence. This superior has soon exceeded the expectation of all, I do not say, by healing in a short time, one that was sick, but, more correctly, by calling to life again one who was dead... [88] " Delphino took also great pains to reform the Camaldulese abbey of H. Angels in Florence. He succeeded in this undertaking, and had good proofs to commend, on the 26th of April, 1501, the character of its inmates [89].

When Father Ludovico Turriano [90] was elected again Vicar General of the Cismontane province of the Franciscan Observantines, pope Alexander VI delegated him, on the 5th of June, 1501, to expel from the Order, at the provincial chapter, and to deprive of the regular habit all friars that should prove to be incorrigible, in order not to let those corrupt members disturb or infect their community. The Pontiff also authorized him to prevent, by the threat of ecclesiastical censures and by other legal means, even by invoking the help of the temporal power, all persons, no matter what their dignity, rank or condition might be, from giving to the guilty friars, in regard to wearing the habit, any aid, advice or favor, whether publicly or privately, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever [91].

Lauredano, the doge of Venice, had made complaints to the Pope about the conduct of the Sisters of some convents of the dioceses of Venice and Torcello ; that, namely, they

88. P. Delphini Epist., Lib. V. Ep. 2 ; Cfr. his letter to Savonarola of May 24th, 1496 : Ibid, Lib. IV. Ep. 97.

89. Ibid., Lib. V. Ep. 50, 69, 80, Lib. VI. Ep. 73.

90. Turre or Tornielli.

91. Wadding, ubi supra, p. 230.

were leading a dishonest, lascivious life and that some of them, pretending to have papal permission thereto, often visited, in the house of their parents, relatives and of other persons, and, on such occasions, failed against purity and continence. The Pontiff wrote at once to the patriarch of Venice, on the 12th of May, 1502, that he should personally go and make an investigation in all those convents, taking as companions the general or other superiors of the various houses, if present, or two or three religious appointed by them ; or, should it not be possible to have Fathers of the Order to which belonged the convent to be reformed, then other religious, to be named by himself : honorable men of a timid conscience. The prelate was to reduce to regular observance the nuns willing to be reformed, and to those unwilling he was to assign a decent portion of the convent, where they could live, under clausure however, from a competent part of the revenues ; or they should be allowed to go to other religious houses where they would be welcome. The patriarch should, with apostolic authority, provide that no applicant be admitted in the future, who was unwilling to live under regular observance. The authority of the ordinary superiors should be preserved in all cases. The Pope, finally, revoked all permissions which might have been granted to make visits outside of the convents [92].

ARTICLE V. — PAPAL REFORM BULLS AND BRIEFS.

At the same time that he commissioned both general and special reformers, pope Alexander VI was personally at work, correcting the abuses that were reported to him from the various parts of the Catholic world. To this effect he is-

92. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. VIII ad XI. Lib. II, Regest. 868, f° 67.

sued, every year of his reign, quite a number of briefs and bulls [93], some of which are of a common character, and others apply to particular cases.

By his bull " In apostolica dignitatis specula ", given on the 27th of February 1497, pope Alexander VI stopped the misuse of certain pontifical concessions granted to friars of the Observantine Order. Some of these friars, provided with papal permission, were leaving their monasteries to discharge the duties of benefices, secular or regular, with or without the care of souls ; others would go away to live in other provinces or in other houses of the same or of different Orders, sometimes under the pretext of stricter observance ; other members of the Observantine family were departing for some hermitage, there to serve God for life or for a certain length of time ; others yet, asserting that they could choose their residence, in virtue of faculties granted by the apostolic See to themselves or to other persons, ecclesiastic or lay, and forgetting their vows and profession, were leaving to reside in various hermitages or in places having universities, misusing papal concessions and often leading an irregular life, in danger of becoming vagabonds, of apostatizing and of doing many things to the contempt of religion. The Pontiff decreed that in the future no friar could make any further use of all such pontifical grants and permissions, unless the general or provincial vicars should have given their consent in writing. He further decided that no Observantine should henceforth, although provided with any, even papal, authority, not even under pretext of a stricter mode of life, withdraw from the obedience of his superiors, and submit to another prelate, even of the observantine Order, without first asking and obtaining allowance from the ultramontane provincial vicar or

93. Wadding relates no less than eighty-four letters of pope Alexander VI to members of the Franciscan Order.

commissary ; unless he should do so in accordance with the statutes of his Order [94].

The effect of this decree was eluded at once, especially in the province of St. Bonaventure, by the action of the Provincial Minister of the Conventuals, who was giving to the friars of reformed or Observantine monasteries, who became unwilling to observe the regular rule of their Order, the permission of transferring themselves to non-reformed communities. The Observantine Vicar of the province was not slow in representing to the Sovereign Pontiff the danger resulting from such practice to the discipline of the reformed monasteries. Pope Alexander VI, therefore, ordained by a bull of the 13th of September, 1497, that, in the future and forever, it should be forbidden to any Provincial or inferior prelate, even to the Minister General of the Minor Order, to liberate from the authority or correction of the Provincials of the Observantines any friar of reformed monasteries. He, further, forbade, under pain of excommunication, to any reformed friar, so liberated from obedience of this superiors, to make use of the permission received. He decided, moreover, that only two, three or four reformed friars could be compelled to assist at the provincial chapters of the Conventuals, merely for the purpose of reporting the list of their prelates and of relating to their own brethren the statutes made at these chapters. He added another decree, that, namely, the Observantines should be allowed to come together in some one of their houses to transact, as capitulars, the business of their Order, and annually to elect their prelates and Vicar provincial, whom the Minister of the Conventuals could not depose without some good reason, but must confirm in his authority over all reformed houses of the province and even over all Observantines living in any hermitage or anywhere else [95].

94. Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 147.

95. Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 140.

It still happened, however, that Observantine friars, running away from the punishment of their superiors, found admission in the monasteries of the Minors Conventual, as in Brescia, where no less than eight had been received in the year 1498. Ludovico Turriano, elected Vicar general in that year, made complaints against these doings to the Minister General of the Franciscans, but received no satisfaction. He then had recourse to the Pontiff, who, on the 17th of November, 1499, issued a brief, by which he prohibited, under pain of ecclesiastical censures, the prelates of Conventual houses and of all other religious institutions to admit or retain Observantine friars, who had left their community without due permission [96].

Through concessions or dispensations of former Pontiffs, the Conventuals had been allowed to inherit from their parents and relatives, at least in favor of their monasteries. Some Observantines were desirous of having their vow of poverty mitigated in a similar manner, but the Pope, anxious to see the ancient rules observed, decided, on the 24th of July, 1501, that no inheritance could be accepted either by an Observantine friar or by his community [97].

As, probably, in consequence of this resolution, many members of that Order left their monasteries and went over to those of the Conventuals, the Pontiff sent forth, on the 5th of April, 1502, a brief by which he admonished the transfuges of the danger of their soul, which they incurred by relapsing into the cupidity of possessing, after they had made the vow of poverty, and he decreed that their act of joining the Conventuals should not entitle them to the privilege of inheriting, enjoyed by the latter [98].

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96. Ibid., p. 154.
97. Ibid., p. 488.
98. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1501-1503. Lib. V, Armar. 29, no. 54, f° 223vo ; Wadding, ubi supra, p. 261.

To prevent many evils, pope Alexander VI tried by such restrictions to keep all religious in the Order and monastery in which they had made their profession. With this end in view, on the 13th of April, 1499, he renewed a bull of pope Eugene IV, forbidding the Brothers of St. Paul the Hermit to assume or receive any habit but that of their own Order, and, under the threat of excommunication, to join any other institute, except that of the Carthusians, which was most severe, and was at no time in need of a reform. The bull was sent to the archbishop of Gran, whom the Pope requested to assist the prior of the friars in having the decree observed [99].

By his bull " Admonet nos ", of October 5th, 1500, the Pontiff ordered the general reform of the convents of nuns in the whole of Germany [100].

The correction of abuses and the improvement of moral conditions all over the Church seem to have been the principal objects of the reign of pope Alexander VI; for we notice that he was not satisfied with ordering reforms, but was himself the principal actor in almost every particular improvement accomplished in the various Catholic countries.

He inaugurated his reform of the Italian monasteries by an act which he would soon have to regret. The famous Jerome Savonarola, since July, 1491, prior of the Dominican house of St. Mark in Florence, had restored among its numerous community the strictest observance of the original rule. He had also formed plans for the moral improvement of the whole city, but their execution was uncertain, owing to the fact of his connection with the religious congregation of Lombardy, whose vicar general might order him to another monastery. He, therefore, sent three of his monks to Rome,

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99. Vienna, K. u. K. Hauf- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv, Osterr. 1499, 13 April, Rom : An original parchment.

100. Wadding, ubi supra, p. 225.

to obtain that St. Mark and the house of St. Dominic in Fiesole be erected into a separate, independent province. The Pope who, in view of Savonarola's antecedents, expected much good from this proposed measure, granted the request, in spite of great opposition, on the 22d of May, 1493, and ordered the Master General of the Dominicans to name Savonarola vicar of the new province [101].

The following year, however, Savonarola entered upon his political career, declared himself a prophet who had his doctrine directly from God, and caused much disturbance in Florence. The Pontiff ordered him to come to Rome and explain, but he did not go ; then he forbade him to preach, and, as the monk failed to obey, he revoked his separation from the province of Lombardy and, on the 8th of September, 1495, reunited the monasteries of St. Mark and of St. Dominic with those of Lombardy again ; yet without any effect upon Savonarola, who wanted to remain his own master. On the 7th of November, 1496, the Pontiff, finally, erected several houses of Lombardy, Tuscany and the pontifical States into the province which should be called the Congregation of Rome and Tuscany. He appointed as vicar, for the next following two years, cardinal Oliver Caraffa, the steady friend of Savonarola, and forbade, under pain of excommunication " latae sententiae ", any and every one, of whatever condition, rank or dignity, to contradict or oppose this constitution. St. Mark of Florence was included in the new province, but Savonarola continued on the downward path of rebellion and ridiculed the game of chess, as he called it, which, in fact, the Pope was playing, mainly to bring him back to duty,

101. Villari, La Storia di Girol. Savon., Vol I, p. 172, seq. and XLII ; Perrens, Jér. Savon., p. 81, seq.—Both these historians manifest their ignorance of how a papal brief is carefully prepared and sealed, when they pretend that the separation of St. Mark from the congregation of Lombardy was the work of cardinal Caraffa, who should, joking with the Pope, have taken the ring from his finger and sealed the letter !

without hurting his feelings. Yet, all was in vain, as we shall notice hereafter [102].

There was in the town of Cavo, in the Roman Campagna, a monastery of Benedictines called Conventuals, who were neglecting their rules and leading a relaxed life. In the year 1494, pope Alexander VI allowed cardinal Oliver Caraffa, who was their commendatory abbot, to send them away and restore discipline by introducing into their places other Benedictines, whom he united, on the 10th of April, 1497, to the exemplary Congregation of St. Justina of Padua [103]. These Fathers made the place reflourish with virtue, and, on the 7th of August, 1497, the Pontiff donated to them the monastery and its revenues [104].

Viola narrates [105] how, in 1495, pope Alexander VI was, strangely enough, obliged to prevent a monastic reform. While he was busily engaged in restoring peace among the people of Tivoli, a friar of the Tiburtine community, brother Mathias, put it into his head that he was to reform the Order of St. Francis. He commenced by devising a more severe mode of life and winning proselytes. He dreamt, among other things, that superiors of monasteries, who were keeping procurators, were in a state of damnation and that, in certain cases, obedience to the Pope or to the constitution of the Order was not allowed. His singular doctrine caused a revolution among the Minorites of the Roman province, and eighty religious left their monasteries to become his followers. To stop the evil in its beginning, the prelates of the Order made use of the most powerful means ; but he remained deaf, even

102. Villari, Storia di Gir. Savon., vol. I, p. 491, CXLII ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 385.

103. Bullarium Cassinense, t. II, p. 415, 416.

104. Ciaconius, Vitae Pontif, Roman., t. II, col. 1103.

105. Storia di Tivoli, vol. III, p. 136.

when the Supreme Pontiff cast forth his Vatican thunderbolts. Brother Mathias was thrown into a dark prison, but, having succeeded in making his escape, he retired with his partisans to mountainous and solitary places and into caverns. There he compiled the laws of his pretended institution. He asserted that he was illumined by God, that he would prove his doctrine by miracles and told other nonsense. We do not know the end of this story of brother Mathias, only that Wadding concludes it by saying : This weak aggregation of false enthusiasts was soon and easily dissolved, for we find brother Mathias among the Conventuals and the others among the Observantines.

Pope Innocent VIII had granted a religious habit to the members of the Society called the Brothers of the Apostles of the Poor Life, a mendicant congregation of lay men, who lived in common in various cities and localities of Italy. These brothers took simple vows of obedience, poverty and chastity, but each one was allowed, at any time, to depose the habit and go to any other place or to his former home, according to his own pleasure. Hence it followed that some, who for years had been educated and fed by the Society, would leave, thus weakening the Congregation, exposing themselves to wrongdoings and disturbing the faithful members in mind and temporal concerns. At the request of their vicar general, pope Alexander VI, to prevent the abuse and to preserve the Society for the glory of God, decreed and ordained by his bull of the 7th of January, 1496, that henceforth the Congregation and all its Brothers, both present and future, should be united with the Order of St. Augustin and subject to its rule, and that they should also make solemn vows and be bound by them in the same manner as the Augustinians. The members of the Congregation should, however, retain their proper habit and remain under the obedience of their own

superiors ; and it was provided that the present Brothers should not be obliged to the change, against their will [106].

On the 23d of December, 1497, pope Alexander VI united the Cistercian provinces of Tuscany and of Lombardy into the one of St. Bernard in Italy. His intention in doing so was, to give to the exemplary monks of those provinces greater power by greater unity, to preserve and still increase their regular discipline, and to reform other monasteries and convents that might join the new province [107]. Yet, being afterwards convinced that his purpose would be better served by separation, he disunited the two provinces again, on the 24th of March, 1502 [108].

The general chapter of the Minors Conventual was to open in the city of Terni, on the 11th of October, 1500, under the presidency of Aegidius Delphino of Amelia, the Vicar of the Order, replacing the Minister General, Francis Samsone, deceased the year before, and also of the bishop of Terni or his Vicar general, both of whom had been appointed commissaries of the Sovereign Pontiff. Before the chapter commenced, pope Alexander VI sent a letter to Delphino and the capitular Fathers, ordering them, in terms of severity and indignation, to reform the life and morals of their friars, especially in the house of St. Francis at Assisi, where rests the body of their holy Founder, threatening them, otherwise, to transfer all their houses to the Observantines, and adding that the temporal princes were every day complaining to him about their conduct [109]. In fact, Cristofani relates [110] that, when, on the 14th of September, 1497, peace was made between the cities of Assisi and Perugia under the direction of the papal legate, Giovanni de Borgia, the main understanding

106. Bullar. Roman. of Laertius Cherubini, and of Luxemburg.
107. Ibid.
108. Rome, Archiv. Cast. S. Angeli, Armar. XII. Caps. IV, no. 29.
109. Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 213.
110. Storie d'Assisi, p. 412.

among the citizens was, that the Pope should be requested to remove from the monastery of St. Francis the friars who were in it, and to replace them with such as were of commendable life and observed their rule ; and so also to transfer some ladies of St. Ann of Foligno to the convent of St. Cara, where the ancient discipline had likewise suffered.

The general chapter of Terni, mindful of the pressing recommendations of the Pontiff, published several statutes, called the " Alexandrine reforms ", after they had been, on the 13th of March, 1501, approved by him [111].

Aegidius Delphino, elected Minister General at the same chapter, tried to restore discipline in both the male and the female convents of Assisi. He, in particular, removed, in the year 1502, the friars of St. Francis' monastery from the direction of the convent of St. Clara, and replaced them with reformed Fathers of bl. Amedeus, who lived a most commendable life. Yet, the former, profiting by his absence, while he was celebrating in France the general chapter of the transmontane provinces, forced their entrance, one morning, into the house of the Poor Clares, shamefully drove away the reformers, and held the fort, in spite of all efforts and threats of both monastic and papal officials, till they were compelled to abandon it in the year 1504 [112].

The Minister General, Delphino, misled the Pontiff, however, into virtually revoking all his former bulls against Observantines leaving their monasteries for the less austere houses of the Conventuals. Aegidius Delphino was, according to the contemporary Nicholas Glassberger [113], a hypocrite, who, through feigned holiness in dress, language and manners, had made the Pope believe that he was full of zeal for the observance of the rule, and had succeeded in being

111. Chronologia Legalis Seraph. Ord. Fratrum Min., vol. I, p. 148.

112. Cristofani, Storie d'Assisi, p. 449.

113. Cronica, p. 522.

chosen through his recommendation. He had made a vow not to rest till he should have destroyed our holy Order, Glassberger says. Wadding repeats the accusation and continues to state [114] that, as soon as elected, he went to the Pontiff and, under the false pretense of reforming the Conventuals, obtained a Brief allowing him to visit the Observantine monasteries, to depose their prelates when he found it necessary and to transfer their friars to Conventual communities, which they were to reform. Thereupon, he went to the Monastery of the Holy Redeemer in Florence, and ordered the Fathers to keep themselves ready to migrate to the Conventual houses which were the most in need of, or ready for, reform ; and, to prevent, all hesitation, he told them that he had papal authority to act as he did. Soon after he spoke in the same manner to the friars of Lucca. But the Vicar of the Tuscan province dispatched an envoy to inform of Delphino's doings the Vicar General of the Observantines, who conferred at once with the Pontiff ; and, when he learned of the deceit, pope Alexander VI recalled all the faculties given to Delphino.

Pope Alexander VI took special care also of the reform and improvement of the female convents in Italy. On the 3d of March, 1493, he placed under the direction of the exemplary Benedictine Congregation of St. Justina of Padua the community of nuns of St. Silvester in Ferrara [115].

On January the 14th, 1497, he likewise confided to the same Congregation the spiritual and temporal administration of the St. Julia convent in Brescia [116].

The Benedictine Sisters of St. Peter's convent of the town of Trevilio in the duchy of Milan had, with the desire of serving God better, unanimously requested the Pontiff to change their rule and Order into those of St. Clara, as mitigated by

114. Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 214. | 408.
115. Bullar. Cassinen., t. II, p. | 116. Ibid., p. 419.

pope Urban IV. He granted their prayer on the 1st of June, 1498, and confided them to the direction of the Observantine friars of the Milanese province [117].

There was in Cremona the Augustinian convent of St. Monica, sheltering eighty nuns that were keeping their rules regularly, but had hardly the means needed for their temporal support. There was also the one of St. John the Evangelist, of the Order of Citeaux, with an income of four hundred gold ducats, but having only a few Sisters that were leading relaxed lives. The Pope had, therefore, united the latter to the Augustinian convent, thus favoring the poorer religieuses in their temporal interests, while providing for the spiritual benefit ot the others. He had, indeed, ordained that the abbess of St. Monica should appoint one of her Sisters to help in the government of the St. John's abbey and that, should its abbess neglect to reform her subjects, she herself should correct them and punish their misdeeds and delinquencies, even those of the very abbess, if need be ; without asking permission thereto from the diocesan authorities or from anyone else. The abbess of St. John's, sustained by her Cistercian superiors, had applied to Rome for a change of the papal decision, but on the 25th of September, 1498, the Pontiff confirmed his former decree and both the reunion and the reform took place [118].

A case, almost the reverse of the foregoing, was submitted to the papal decision a few months later. The abbess and Sisters of the convent of St. Michael in Milan requested to be transformed from Augustinians, as they were, into Cistercian nuns. The Pope, although affected by their alleged intention of following a more severe rule, returned their petition, on the 18th of December, 1498, to the archbishop of

117. Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 173.

118. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Bull. an. VI, VII. Regest. 821, fo 30vo.

Milan, who was better able to judge of the circumstances, ordering him to personally decide as he would see convenient [119].

On the 3d of February, 1499, pope Alexander VI placed the convent of St. Peter in Vicenza under the direction of the Congregation of St. Justina, and directed the abbot of the monastery of SS. Felix and Fortunatus of that city to appoint a confessor for the Sisters [120].

At the request of the Augustinian Sisters of the town of Boscho, in the diocese of Milan, he granted, on the 13th of April of that year, that their convent should be changed into an abbey of the Order of St. Clara, under the direction of the Minors Observantines [121].

In the beginning of November of the same year, he ordered the Vicar general of the diocese of Perugia to take from the Benedictine Sisters their convent of that city and give it to the Poor Clares of the regular observance [122].

So also were sent away, in the year 1502, the Cistercian nuns of the convent of St. Mary of the Dove, in the city of Viterbo [123].

A certain administrator bishop had been commissioned to reform the convents of his episcopal city Livu (?) and he had succeeded in reducing to a better life the abbesses and Sisters of the Benedictine convents of St. John and of St. Vincent of that city. He now, to secure further happy results of his efforts, wished to have his acts confirmed. The Pontiff answered his request, on the 1st of March, 1502, by committing to him the full and absolute reform of the same convents, giving him authority to punish the nuns found guilty and to send them to other convents, as also to transfer, from other

119. Rome, Bibl. Barberini., Cod. XL, f° 17.
120. Bullar., Cassinen., t. II, p. 419.
121. Wadding. Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 488.
122. Wadding, ibid.
123. Bussi, Istoria di Viterbo, p 292.

places and other dioceses, with the consent of the prelates of that Order, to the houses of St. John and St. Vincent, other religieuses more observant of their rules; finally, he instructed him to do everything necessary or useful in all these matters [124].

Only a few days before his death the Pontiff granted the community of the Benedictine Sisters of Narni their request to be transformed into one of the Order of St. Clara, and pope Julius II confirmed his predecessor's oral concession [125].

ARTICLE VI. — REFORM IN SPAIN.

Pope Alexander VI commenced his reforms in Spain, when yet a cardinal, not only as administrator of Carthagena and as legate at the council of Segorve [126], but also as a vice-chancellor, when signing, in the name of pope Innocent VIII, a supplica which caused a papal brief to be issued to the bishop of Leon, by which this prelate was directed, on the 22d of September, 1488, to reform the conventual monastery of St. Francis in St. Facundo, a town of his diocese [127]. This attempt at correction seems to have failed ; for the Pontiff was afterwards reliably informed that the friars were greatly in need of a renovation ; leading dishonest, lascivious and scandalous lifes. He, therefore, sent, on the 19th of December, 1493, a bull to the abbot of the monastery of St. Facundo and to an archdean of the cathedral of Leon, ordering them to go to the Conventual house of St. Francis, accompanied by a few friars of the Franciscan Order, whom they might choose ; examine the community, in its head and in its members, and reform and correct with apostolic authority, accor-

124. Ibid., p. 319, 320.
125. Archiv. Vatic., Minutae Brevium, Sixti IV.—Julii II, Cod. f, f° 173.
126. Wadding, Annal. Min. t. XV, p. 272.
127. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Armar. XXXIX, no. 20, f° 520vo.

ding to canon law and the rules of their Order, whatever they might find to need correction. We give you herewith, he says, with apostolic, authority, full and free power to order and command them, under pain of suspension, excommunication and privation of their offices, all that you may see proper for the said correction and reform ; to impose penances upon them in proportion to their crimes and misdeeds, and, should their demerits deserve it, to expel them, and to introduce into their monastery other friars of the same Order; further, to do and execute whatever else is necessary or useful in the case ; finally, to restrain all contradictors and rebels by ecclesiastical censures and other legal means, even, if need be, by calling in the aid of the temporal power [128].

During the first year of his reign, on the 19th of April, 1493, pope Alexander VI established regular observance in the Benedictine abbey of Montserrat, by uniting and forever incorporating it with the recently reformed monastery of Valladolid. This union seems not to have been welcome with the abbot Peralta and some of his monks ; but the objections were removed by promoting Peralta to the diocese of Vich and offering to others the choice of any community of the Congregation of Tarragona. The superior of Valladolid came to Montserrat, on the following 2d of June, with fourteen of his Fathers, one of whom, Garcias de Cisneros, was elected prior at once, and, soon after, received the title of abbot [129].

Francis Ximenez de Cisneros, afterwards a cardinal, belonged to the Observantine branch of the Order of St. Francis, and was an exemplary friar. In the year 1492, queen Isabella chose him for her confessor, and, two years later, he was elected Provincial of the province of Castilla. The other Franciscan branch, the Conventuals, were in possession of

128. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. II. Lib. IV, Regest. 870, f° 17v°.

129. Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia, t. XIX, p. 227, 228.

most of the houses of the Order, many of which were like palaces and provided with rich revenues [130], but sheltered hundreds of friars that were living very lax or sinful lives, while the Observantines had but a few humble monasteries. Ximenez, however, made use of all his influence and power to favor the members of his own religious family and tried to augment the number of the Observantine houses, by acquiring those of the other branch, whenever he could convert their communities to the observance of their original rules, or buy them for money from their inmates ; for he interpreted the bulls of the Pontiffs forbidding both families to take monasteries from each other, as not opposed to the transfer of houses of the Observantines, when it took place with the consent of the friars concerned.

The predilection of pope Alexander VI for the Observantines was evident, but he was not opposed to the Conventuals who observed their mitigated rules and led decent lives. He confirmed in the year 1494, on the 18th of July, for the Order of St. Francis in Aragon, the law of his predecessors in regard to the undisturbed possession of their respective religious houses [131], yet he approved, in the same year, the interpretation of Ximenez, allowing the Observantines to retain what they had bought from the Conventuals [132].

The authority of the reformer was considerably increased and the scope of his activity extended, when the Pontiff named him archbishop of Toledo, in the year 1495 ; for through this position he obtained a right to visit canonically all religious Orders in his diocese and, through the Kings, in the whole of Spain. He admonished them all and prescribed statutes reducing them to the observance of their rules. The Augustinians, Dominicans, Carmelites and others made

130. Wadding, Annal. Minor., t. XV, p. 107.
131. Wadding, ibid., p. 89.
132. Id., Ibid., p. 126 ; Gomez, De Rebus gestis Franc. Ximenii, Lib. I, p. 26.

but little opposition, and were reformed under the direction of their own prelates ; but his own Order of St. Francis fiercely resisted his so-called encroachments on their liberties [133].

George de Costa, cardinal of Lisbon, whom pope Alexander VI had appointed to replace the absent cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, as protector of the Franciscan Order, was at first of great help to Ximenez when, on the 3d of October, 1495, he ordered the return to their monasteries of all Observantines who had left them, without permission, to live in houses of Conventuals [134]. Afterwards, however, considering his ways of reform as too drastic and violent, he advised the Pope against him. Indeed, the archbishop of Toledo not only bought the monasteries of the Conventuals, but also ejected the friars from other houses and gave their places to Observantines, as he did at the monastery of St. John the Penitent of Fontidon, in the diocese of Segovia [135], and generally gave way to his resolute and fiery disposition in working out the reform.

The Conventuals were dispossessed so rapidly, that some of them commenced to take refuge among the Moors of Africa [136], and that an outcry went up from all their houses, whose echoes resounded in Rome. Francis Samsone, the Minister general of the Franciscans, and a Conventual himself, went to the Pontiff, and obtained, though with the greatest difficulty, that the agents of monastic reform, appointed by the Catholic kings and directed by Ximenez, should be allowed no longer to perform their functions, without the intervention of some conventual friars to be named by the Minister general and some prelates sent by the Pontiff.

133. Çurita, Hist. del Rey don Hernando, Lib. III, Cap. 15, f° 135vo ; Ferreras, Hist. de España, t. XI, p. 390 ; Prescott, Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. II, p. 391.

134. Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 100.

135. Wadding, ibid., p. 129.

136. Çurita, Hist. del Rey don Hern. Lib. III. Cap. 15, f° 135vo.

When he heard that these envoys were neglected by the Spanish reformers and that no consideration was given to them, he went to the Pope again, and aroused his anger by representing to him that his own authority had been scorned. The Pontiff called a consistory, in which the whole Sacred College, even cardinal de Costa, sided with the Minister of the Franciscans, and advised the writing of the following brief, dated the 9th day of November, 1496 :

Alexander VI Pope. To our dearly beloved children, Ferdinand, king, and Elizabeth, queen, Health and apostolic Benediction. To put an end to the objections and complaints made day after day, especially by the friars of the Order of St. Francis, on the occasion of the reform being made in your dominions ; and because the envoys of the Minister general and our deputies sent for that purpose, are not allowed to discharge their office, and complain of several insults offered to them, as they say ; it has been decreed in consistory, with the unanimous advice of our venerable brethren the cardinals of the holy Roman Church, to enjoin upon our commissaries for this reform not to continue but to suspend its execution, until we may know the truth and order differently. Your Majesties will more fully understand this our brief from the letter of our venerable brother George, bishop of Porto and cardinal of Lisbon, viceprotector of the same Order, and from that of our beloved son, Garcias Lassi, our orator, to whom we refer you [137]. At the same time the Minister General of the Franciscans promised to appoint reformers in the houses of his Order [138].

Ximenez was disconcerted at the reading of those letters, but it did not take him long to acquaint the Pope with the truth of the situation and the crying need of reform. The

137. Gomez, De Rebus gestis Ximenii, Lib. I, p. 26 ; Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 126, seq. ; Ferreras, Hist. de España, t. XI, p. 390.

138. Çurita, Hist. del Rey don Hern. Lib. III, Cap. 15, fo 135vo.

Pontiff, thereupon, changed his orders. Recalling his temporary prohibition, he appointed as papal reformers Ximenez himself, together with his regular representative in Spain, the bishop of Catania, and the bishop of Jaén. Yet, according to the bull, these prelates were to visit canonically and in person the monasteries to be corrected ; and this condition reduced their efficiency almost to nothing, since they could not, personally, reach the great number of religious houses in those vast provinces. Ximenez insisted, therefore, till he and his colleagues were authorized to appoint deputies in sufficient number. Then the work of reform resumed its former rapid and efficient course, while the Pontiff lent his direct assistance in some special cases, as when he ordered, on the 21st of August, 1501, to confirm to the Observantines the right to the monastery of Our Lady of Arançaçu in the diocese of Calahorra [139]. In a few years all the monasteries of Spain were reduced to the strict observance of their rules [140], and all but a few of the Conventual houses had passed into the possession of the Observantines.

How strict and thorough the reform was in Spain may be judged from the fact that, at the end of the year 1497 [141], more than a thousand friars, among whom a hundred and twenty doctors of theology, left the country and went over to the African coast and turned Mohammedans. Raynaldi also relates [142] that, by papal authority, were ejected from their monasteries all Minorites, who were living beyond the rules of their Order, many of whom departed from Spain [143]. We may feel inclined to blame Ximenez for this scandal, but

139. Wadding, ubi supra, p. 489 or seq.

140. Gomez, ubi supra, p. 27 ; Wadding, t. XV, p. 127.

141. P. Delphini, Epist. Libro V, Ep. 49 ; Malipiero, Annal. Venet., in Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, VII. P. I, p. 497 ; Prescott, Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. II, p. 392.

142. Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1492, no. XXXVI.

143. Cfr. Raynaldi, Annal. ad an. 1497, no. XXXIV.

Çurita remarks that their apostasy from the faith proves how low they were fallen and how necessary was their reform [144].

We may notice here that, while Ximenez was at work, improving religious institutions, a counter-reform was attempted by a certain Lawrence Vacca, who, armed with fictitious bulls of pope Alexander VI, granted the " liberty of the Holy Ghost " to all monks and friars, who wished more laxity of conduct ; but his liberality came to an end when, one morning, he found himself deprived of his own natural liberty, behind the bars of a prison [145].

The correction of the Spanish convents of nuns was conducted by Ximenez and his colleagues, according to papal orders, simultaneously with that of the monasteries [146]. But little opposition was experienced, except in a few communities, directed by Conventual Franciscan Fathers, like those of St. Clara of Barcelona and of Medina of Mancanera, in the province of Valencia, where the cousin of king Ferdinand, Maria Henriquez de Velasco, was abbess [147].

To prevent the relapse of the reformed Sisters into their former negligent and sinful ways, pope Alexander VI wrote, on the 23d of October, 1497, to Ximenez and to the bishop of Salamanca, directing them to place all convents of nuns now reduced to the strict observance of their rules, under the care, supervision and authority of the superiors of the observantine Order to which they belonged, and to see to it, that these superiors should not be molested by any one in their administration [148].

The Pope was, moreover, always ready to grant any wish of religieuses that might tend to improve their spiritual condition. Cesar de Borgia, then administrator of the diocese

144. Hist. del Rey don Hern. Lib. III. Cap. 15, fo 135vo.
145. Wadding, ubi supra, p. 108.
146. Paris, Archiv. Nation. L. 378, Caps. 89, no. 53.
147. Wadding, ibid., p. 198.
148. See Document 106.

of Valencia, exposed to him how a number of women of the Third Order of St. Francis were in the habit of coming together in a little house, outside the walls of the city, for the recitation of the divine office, and, aspiring after greater perfection, desired to follow the rule of St. Clara as mitigated by pope Urban IV, and to build a religious house in that place. The Pope gave the requested permission on the 9th of July, 1496. The following year, a pious nobleman enlarged and transformed the former meeting house into a convenient convent [149].

The Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis of Saragossa, desiring to live a more perfect life, had begged the Holy Father to change their house into an abbey of St. Clara of strict observance. The Pope readily granted their prayer by a bull of the 17th of June, 1496, in which he expresses his sincere wishes for the aggrandizement and extension of that exemplary Order [150].

So also, the Pontiff commanded, on the 22d of June, 1499, the bishop of Badajoz, at the request of the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis, to convert their community of the town of Xeres, in his diocese, into one of the Second Order, or of St. Clara [151].

He likewise directed the bishop of Jaén, on the 9th of October, 1500, to put, according to their petition, the Sisters of the Third Order, of the convent of Ubeda, in that diocese, under the government of the Visitor of the neighboring nuns of St. Clara [152].

The Spanish secular clergymen, especially those who had the actual care of souls, or who were the agents or substitutes of dignitaries, had mostly to be satisfied with meager pre-

149. Wadding, ubi supra, p. 131.

150. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bull. An. VI, VII : t. XXXVIII, Regest. 809, f° 184.

151. Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV.

152. Id. ibid., p. 489, or seq.

bends, and were to practise the poverty vowed by the regular clergy ; but were thereby preserved from many moral evils, occasioned by riches. Wadding, a religious, states [153] that the archbishop of Toledo did not trouble himself with the faults and deficiencies of the secular clergy, till he had finished reforming the inmates of the monasteries. It appears, however, that some clergymen wished to hide their doings from the eyes of the public, since pope Alexander VI ordered, already on the 27th of July, 1493, the wearing of the tonsure and of the ecclesiastical dress, under pain of deprivation of the immunity from civil jurisdiction. Some clergymen, however, refused to appear before a secular tribunal, although they had received no orders nor any benefice, and had committed crimes while attired like ordinary laymen [154].

When Ximenez was preparing, in the year 1497, to correct the abuses of his secular clergy, he expected many a fight with some of the dignitaries, that would oppose him under pretext of pontifical letters or of offices and prelacies held at the apostolic palace, considering themselves as exempt from his tribunal and their causes as pertaining to that of the Sovereign Pontiff. He applied, therefore, to pope Alexander VI, who perfectly agreed with him, approved of his efforts for the betterment of his clergy, and answered him, on the 23d of June, 1497, with a brief, by which he gave him full and free power to proceed, with papal authority, against all persons claiming exemption from the archbishop's ordinary jurisdiction ; to restrain them by legal means, and to do and execute whatever he would have power to do, in case they would not be officials of the Pontiff or of the holy See [155]. Wadding does not report any of the fights feared by Ximenez,

153. Ibid., p. 137.
154. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI.Secret. An. I, II, III. Regest 869, f° 137.
155. Gomez, De Rebus gestis Ximenii, Lib. I, p. 27 ; Wadding, ubi supra.

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but adds that, with the support of this letter and of the King's assistance, he kept his diocese in such discipline and holiness that people seemed to be born spiritually over again.

During the same year 1497, on the 1st of August, the Pope issued the following bull for the reform of the universities of Spain : To our Venerable brethren, the archbishop of Toledo and the bishop of Salamanca, Health, etc... A petition was lately offered to Us, in the name of the kings Ferdinand and Isabella, representing that in their dominions there are the universities of Salamanca and of Valladolid and other universities of general or particular studies, which are not a little deformed in morals and customs, and which they desire to be reformed for the honor and respect of the same Institutions. We, therefore, give you, by these present, with apostolic authority, full and free power, to visit once only, by yourselves or your deputies, the universities, their dependencies and the persons attached to them, in their head and in their members ; to correct and change their statutes and regulations that need reform, in regard to the chairs of doctrine and other offices ; to enact new statutes, reasonable, however, and not opposed to canon law, and to have them strictly observed ; to restrain by ecclesiastical censures and other useful means of law all contradictors and rebels, even, if need be, by invoking the aid of the temporal power ; and to do all else that may be necessary or useful under the circumstances [156].

We may further notice an act of pope Alexander VI to foster peace between the regular and the secular clergy of Spain, when he ordered, on the 15th of May, 1502, the bishops of Palencia, of Jaén and Astorga to depute a canon or other dignitary, who should hear and decide all misunderstandings between the friars Minor and the parish rectors of the diocese

156. See Document 107.

of Seville, in regard to burials and divine services, even in cases where appeals to Rome had been interposed [157].

ARTICLE VII. — REFORM IN PORTUGAL.

Hardly had king Emanuel the Lucky ascended the throne of Portugal, when he sent to Rome Roderic de Castro and Henry and Ferdinand Contiño, who, together with the Spanish ambassador, Garcias Lasso, complained most bitterly to the Pope of the behavior of the Portuguese clergy. The report of the envoys surprised the Pontiff ; yet, he answered that he would send strict orders for the correction of abuses ; and, to thank the monarchs for the information, he sent to each of them a blessed sword and cap [158]. The following facts prove that he kept his promise.

There were at the time two military-religious Orders in Portugal : the one of Christ and that of de Avis [159], whose knights, mostly noblemen, besides their priests, took the three ordinary vows in the Benedictine congregation of Citeaux. These Orders had degenerated considerably. The great-mastership and other offices had become venal and the observance of the religious vows was neglected. Immorality was so prevalent that their vow of chastity had become an object of derision. After long consideration and upon the advice of the saintly cardinal of Lisbon, George de Costa, pope Alexander VI decided, by his bull of the 20th of June, 1496, to abolish this vow and to replace it, at future professions of knights of those two military Orders, with that of conjugal chastity. By so doing he took away all excuse of concubi-

157. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Copia di Brevi e Bolle di Aless. VI riguardanti la Spagna, f° 93.

158. Ferreras, Hist. de España, t. XI, p. 401 refer. to Osorio and Mariana.

159. From the same of a city that these knights received in the year 1211.

nage and adultery, he afforded to the young ladies of the nobility more occasion to marry men of their own rank, while for many young men he removed the obstacle to joining those Orders, in which they could probably render good services by combatting the Mohammedan infidels. The Pope preserved, however, the integrity of the rules of the Cistercian Order, which they should continue to observe [160] ; but the vow of poverty was naturally soon overlooked, and the one of obedience, reduced to military commands, after some time, ceased to be made.

In regard to the clergy of Portugal, pope Alexander VI allowed, on the 1st of May, 1497, the civil courts to prosecute and sentence the simple clerics who had not worn the tonsure and the dress of their rank for four months previous to the time that any charge was brought against them [161].

On the 1st of the next following month, he took a measure that would affect all Portuguese clergymen, both regular and secular, from the lowest cleric up to the bishops and archbishops. On that day, indeed, he addressed a bull to George, the archbishop of Braga, in which he said : There lately was offered to Us a petition in the name of Emanuel, king of Portugal, whereby it was stated that, through the negligence of the prelates, the cathedral churches and the dioceses of his kingdom are much deteriorated, both in spiritual and temporal matters, and that, unless the remedy of the canonical visitation be applied, it is to be feared that they may go to ruin altogether, to the great scandal of the people. We, therefore, with apostolic authority, by this our letter, allow and command you, as long as you preside at the metropolis of Braga, to visit, as often as visitation time shall come, with both metropolitan and apostolic jurisdiction, either by yourself or your deputies, the Collegiate and other churches, the

160. See Document 109.
161. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I ad X. Lib. VII, Regest. 873, f° 87.

monasteries and all ecclesiastical, pious and religious places, and all persons belonging to them, in their head and in their members, within your cities and dioceses and in the whole province of Braga, and also outside of it, wherever you have the right or custom to visit.

Then the Pontiff, having heard of the contumacy of the archbishops's suffragans, orders and decrees that these shall personally take the oath of due allegiance, personally and in the church of Braga, at his hands or those of his delegate ; that they shall allow appeals to the metropolitan court, shall henceforth in no way prohibit the publication of apostolic letters, under pretext of not having approved them, and shall appear in person at the provincial council, which the archbishop may celebrate by himself, or, if legitimately prevented, by another. He further appoints three commissaries, who shall attend to it, that all those decrees be strictly observed, particularly in regard to the admission of the archbishop's delegates, whom he takes under his protection, subjects to the direct jurisdiction of the holy See and authorizes to act with papal authority. The Pontiff, finally, announces that when the visitation of the province shall be finished, he will send his own agents to visit the metropolitan church and diocese of Braga. After concluding the bull in the usual manner, he still adds one more special command. He had heard that even cathedral and collegiate churches of the province were in need of considerable repairs and were lacking in juwels or sacred vessels and ornaments necessary for divine service. He, consequently, orders the archbishop or his deputies to take from the income of those churches the amounts needed for the immediate restoration of the buildings and for the acquisition of jewelry and ornaments [162].

On the same 1st of June, 1497, a copy of that bull was for-

162. See Document 109.

warded to cardinal de Costa, who was archbishop of Lisbon [163]; and thus the whole of Portugal was subjected to the inquest and reform of periodical visits, its bishops were made amenable to canon law and the decency of all its edifices of religion was provided for.

Some of the Portuguese houses of nuns did not, however, profit by this means of general visitation. About the year 1500, pope Alexander VI deputed special visitors to go to the great convent of the Poor Clares outside the walls of Lisbon, and reform the abbess and her Sisters, who were accused of leading dishonest and lascivious lives. The religieuses who were not willing to follow the original rules of the Order, were permitted to pass to other convents where those laws were mitigated, while those that submitted to the strict observance, remained in the institution, which was then placed under the authority of a saintly vicaress, named sister Euphrasia, and under the general care and direction of the Vicar general of the Franciscan Observantines of Portugal. On the 15th of May, 1503, the Pontiff absolved from all censures the Sisters that might have incurred any of them by former conduct or resistance, and he formally approved the reform as it had been made [164].

Pope Alexander VI was compelled sometimes to resort to extreme measures, in order to uphold religious discipline in female communities. On the 23d of October, 1501, he wrote to the bishop of Edania [165] and to the Vicar of the independent vicariate of Thomar, saying how he had been reliably informed that in the diocese of Oporto there were four nunneriès of the Benedictine or other Orders, of which the ab-

163. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I ad X. Lib. VII, Regest. 873, f° 459.

164. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. IV ad VIII. Lib. VI, Regest. 872, f° 444; Wadding, Annal. Minorum, t. XV, p. 229.

165. Guarda, to-day.

besses and Sisters were not willing to be visited and corrected ; who, having, cast aside womanly modesty, served the world rather than God and committed many enormities ; that is, as he explains in another place, they roamed about outside of their cloister. He had been told that it was advisable to build a new convent for Sisters of St. Clara, to suppress the four delinquent houses and to apply all the property of these to the former, to which might also be transferred the inmates of the abolished communities, who were willing to flee the world, for the salvation of their souls and the glory of God. He had no positive knowledge of the things told to him, and, therefore, he committed to the two prelates to carefully inquire into the facts and, should they find the report to be true, then to build, in the city of Oporto, in a convenient locality chosen by king Emmanuel, a convent for nuns of St. Clara, of either the original rule or of that given by pope Urban IV, as they thought best, and it was to be placed under the direction of the Vicar provincial of the Franciscan Observantines. They were to declare abolished the four existing communities, and to assign all their property to the new Institute. It should be allowed to the former abbesses and prioresses to resign their dignities and, as also to their Sisters, to assume the habit of the Clarisses and to enter the new convent ; or, if they were unwilling to do so, then to go to any other religious house where they might be welcome ; receiving from the new abbess, for their support, a convenient portion of their former revenues. The churches of the communities to be suppressed should not, however, be put to profane uses, but holy Mass and other divine services should be occasionally celebrated in them [166].

In some cases it happened, on the contrary, that, like in other countries so also in Portugal, religious Sisters them-

166. See Document 110.

selves petitioned for permission to observe stricter rules of perfection. Thus did pope Alexander VI, at the request of the cloistered nuns of the Third Order of St. Francis, of Valenza, in the diocese of Ceuta, order, on the 1st of September, 1498, that their community should be converted into one of the primitive Order of St. Clara, under the direction of the provincial of the Portuguese Observantines [167].

ARTICLE VIII. — REFORM IN FRANCE.

We have noticed the work of reform done in France by the cardinal of Rouen, as deputy of the Pontiff, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but pope Alexander VI had been personally at work in particular cases, long before.

A tedious lawsuit was carried on between the Minors Conventual and the Observantines, in regard to a monastery which the former had commenced to build at Chambéry, in the diocese of Grenoble. In the year 1493, the Pontiff called the controversy before his own tribunal and decided it in favor of the better religious, the Observantines [168].

On the 24th of July, 1495, he wrote to his beloved sons, the Ministers provincial of the provinces of St. Bonaventure, la Touraine and of France, that he had of late received a petition from Peter, the duke and Anne of France, the duchess of Bourbonais, stating that in the houses of the Minors Conventual, in their duchies and domains, all regular discipline was giving way and actually seemed to be abolished, to the great scandal of the people and of the nobility, and requesting him to attend to their reform. Our venerable brother, George, bishop of Albi, the viceprotector of that Order, gives thereto his express assent, he adds. We, therefore, strictly command

167. Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 194 and post 488.

168. Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 56.

you, under pain of excommunication " latae sententiae ", to go in person, together, or two of you and the vicar of the Minister of the province of St. Bonaventure, to all and each of the said houses and to visit them with our authority, without delay ; to bring them back to the regular observance of the statutes of that Order, as kept in the reformed houses of Dol and the Blessed Mary de Miano and in other houses of that Order and province ; and to establish in them guardians and the other officials, taken from among the reformed friars. As for the members of the said communities that may be unwilling to conform in all matters with the reformed friars, We order you to send them to other monasteries of the Conventuals of the same Order. You shall sell to the highest bidder the immovable property and other sources of revenues that have no burdens attached to them, and use the proceeds to repair the same monasteries, and also find some friendly man, who will receive the income and govern the other dutiable property destined for the support of the reformed friars living in them, provided the duties be discharged. The Pontiff continues : Because many religious, wishing more freedom, flee from the community of their brothers and go to live in hermitages, you shall recall those that you see proper to recall, even though they should have apostolic authority to dwell there ; and you shall ordain that no one of the said Order be henceforth admitted into any hermitage, if he has not the permission of the holy See and the consent of his provincial chapter. You shall, finally, do and execute whatever is necessary or useful under the circumstances ; even, if need be, invoke the aid of the civil power [169].

At the request of the same duchess of Bourbonais, the Pope reformed more severely the monastery of Ville Franche,

169. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar. An. III, IV, t. XXV, Regest. 796, f° 60.

in the diocese of Lyons, by giving it over to the Minors Observantines [170], in the year 1496.

So also he corrected, through the good offices of Louis d'Amboise, bishop of Albi, in 1498, two monasteries in the province of Aquitaine [171].

So ardent was in France the spirit of reform during the reign of pope Alexander VI, that two houses of the Minors Conventual, one after another, passed into the hands of the Observantines [172]. The good work was evidently overdone in some instances ; and it is no wonder if some Conventual friars, who were willing to better their ways, sought protection from the attacks of overzealous antagonists and especially of temporal princes, at the hands of the very Pontiff who had dealt such severe blows to many of their guilty confreres. In fact, pope Alexander VI who wished the reform, but not to ruin that Order, issued, on the 17th of August, 1499, the solemn bull " Super gregem dominicum ", by which he prescribed the conditions and manner of correction of a conventual community.

He commences by renewing the bulls of popes Paul II and of Sixtus IV, inhibiting the Observantines to occupy, invade, disturb or interfere with any house, place or convent of the Conventuals, and " vice versa ". He then forbids to begin the reform of any Conventual monastery in the province of France, even on the strength of apostolic letters, if the minister of the province and the Guardian and friars of the house to be reformed be not first admonished by a pontifical brief, in which is mentioned the consent of the protector of the Order, that they must, within a year, reform themselves and observe the regular constitution of their Order, as mitigated by the privileges and concessions granted by the Holy See and by their approved customs. And if they shall refuse

170. Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 130.
171. Ibid., p. 168.
172. Ibid., p.182.

to correct themselves within one year, then, upon new apostolic letters, making mention of the former admonition and consent, and with the express consent of their protector or sub-protector, and not otherwise, shall the bishops or archbishops proceed, by themselves or their Vicars general, and not by other inferiors, to the said reform. Yet, the Minister, Custos, Guardian and the religious to be reformed shall be given two months to prepare and propose their objections, and the reform must be made in accordance with their statutes, privileges, concessions and their said customs, and not otherwise. Moreover, the houses and friars once corrected cannot be forced to submit to any new Superiors, but must remain under their own minister and custos. The Pontiff concludes his bull by forbidding the Observantines under pain of excommunication, anathema, malediction and other censures " latae sententiae ", to preach to the faithful, or to say, in public, anything against the Order, life, morals or honesty of the Conventuals of that province, and " vice versa " [173].

There were in the transmontane countries many convents of nuns where the rules were most scrupulously observed, as we see from a brief of the 16th of November, 1493, sent by pope Alexander VI to the Vicar general and to the Provincials of the Observantines, wherein it is stated that the abbesses and Sisters of St. Clara, of those parts, had requested him to allow their confessors to enter the cloister for the administration of the sacraments to Sisters, who were not in danger of death, but so infirm that, sometimes for years, they could not present themselves at the common grate, to receive the consolations of the fortnightly communion enjoyed by their companions. The Pope, naturally, granted the requested

173. Ibid.

permission, for all such and similar cases, to the same Vicars and to the confessors appointed by them for the convents under their direction [174].

Not all the French houses of the Order of St. Clara were of such perfection, however ; but several of those where the regular observance was neglected, were reformed together with the monasteries by which they were directed. Thus did Louis d'Amboise, bishop of Albi and subdelegate of the Pope, correct those of Perget, in the diocese of Limoges, and of Sarlat, in the diocese of Clermont [175].

At Arc, in the diocese of Frejus, a convent of St. Catherine had been erected for Sisters of the Order of Citeaux. When the superiors of this Order noticed that it was declining, both morally and materially, they left it to be subjected, with the allowance of the apostolic See and the consent of its Sisters, to that of " de Subrippis ", which belonged to the Order of Cluny. This move did not change the conduct of the Sisters, through whose carelessness and worldly life the revenues were wasted, the buildings became dilapidated, and the recitation of the divine office almost suspended, in consequence of their diminished number. Meanwhile, Louis de Vallaneuve, baron of Arc and of Trans, who had built in the latter place a priory of Minors Observantines, requested the Pontiff to suppress the convent and apply its revenues to the new monastery. To this the nuns objected, but, on the 2d of January, 1500, pope Alexander VI deputed the bishop of Grasse to inquire into the matter and, if found as stated, to attribute the former convent of St. Catherine to the priory of the Observantines, and to compel its Sisters to accept from the baron a decent habitation and support [176].

There seems to have been but little need of reform among

174. Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 36.
175. Ibid., p. 168.
176. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bull. An. IX. LXXII, Regest. 843, f° 102.

the French secular clergy, as we found but one instance of actual correction, namely, of the quarrelsome William Adhemar, bishop of St. Paul-Trois Chateaux, who was often before the court, especially against the chapter of his cathedral. To avoid further trouble, the Pope gave to the canons a bull, by which he exempted them from their bishop's jurisdiction and visitation. Yet, after conditions were agreed upon between the chapter and the prelate, he returned to the latter his ordinary rights, for the sake of upholding episcopal jurisdiction generally [177].

In a somewhat similar manner did the Pontiff protect the simple clergy of the diocese of Weisbrun or Vesprim, in Hungary, against the cupidity of their bishop, prelates and cathedral chapter, who claimed and collected all the tithes of the parishes of the diocese, leaving to the pastors of souls only the income of their churches, which was insufficient for their decent living and incidental parochial expenses. The poor rectors or plebans petitioned the Pontiff for assistance and, on the 12th of August, 1502, pope Alexander VI secured for them the payment of one fourth of the tithes, as had been granted to them by a bull of his predecessor, pope Boniface VIII [178].

ARTICLE IX. — REFORM IN GERMANY.

In no country has there been written as much as in Germany, about the necessity of the reform of the Church at the beginning of the sixteenth century; and nowhere, indeed, was pope Alexander VI kept more busy reforming than in the German provinces. The reader may easily find, in Wadding's Annals of the Minorites, a large number of religious

177. Dion. Samarthanus, Gallia Christiana, t. I, p. 728.

178. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bull. Div. An. IX, X, XI. Lib. V, Regest. 883, f° 249.

houses reformed by this Pontiff, but we shall mention only a few reports, drawn mainly from German historical sources.

In the solemn bull, " Ex supernae providentia ", of the 13th of April, 1494, it is stated that, at Vixtring, in Carinthia, there was the Cistercian abbey, called Victory, which had frequently suffered from invasions of the perfidious Turks, and was suffering still more from its community's relaxed manner of life. At the request of emperor Maximilian, the Pope, both to reform the monks and to protect against the Infidels the monastery that was slowly falling into ruins, but which might still be converted into a fort of the Christians, suppressed the abbatial dignity, and granted the buildings to the Knights of St. George, recently established for the defense of Christianity. Six Cistercian monks, however, one of them with the title of prior, were to be retained in the house, to live in common and to attend to divine service, which would be improved by the change, while the Knights would prevent any further irruption of the enemies of God's holy name [179].

The Benedictine monastery of St. Adalbert at Egmund, in the diocese of Utrecht, was visited and reformed by a papal commission, that brought into it some monks of an honest and religious life, and those who were unwilling to submit to the regular discipline were compelled to accept a competent portion of the revenues and retire to other decent quarters. Nevertheless, when the abbot died, the reformed community elected a successor, but the expelled friars chose an other. On the 16th of May, 1495, emperor Maximilian requested the Holy Father to confirm the former election and to annul the latter. As a matter of course, his wishes were readily granted [180].

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179. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv., Oesterr., 1494, 13 Apr: Original parchment with lead seal.

180. Vienna, ibid., Cod. J. J., Ctn. (Concepta), Missiven et alia id genus, f° 260.

There was about this time a strong tendency towards a revival of strict observance of the monastic rules in the Teutonic province of the Dominican Order, and this disposition was greatly encouraged and fostered by their venerable provincial, Father James Sprenger. Some of the monks, however, of laxer behavior, pretending to have allowance from higher authority, were used to leave their convents, without permission of their local superiors, and tarried in villas, castles and parishes, would hear confessions and scandalized the people by their greed for money ; and these were plotting to obtain a more yielding prelate. One morning a rumor was spread that the provincial had been deposed by a papal brief. The priors of all the reformed houses, protesting against the treachery of the recalcitrants, wrote at once to cardinal Pérault, begging him to interest the Emperor in the case and make him write to our Holy Father the Pope, to cardinal Caraffa and to Joachim Turiano, Master General of the Dominican Order, to obtain the recall of such a brief, if any was issued. Emperor Maximilian wrote, indeed, on the 26th of August, 1495, to Joachim Turiano and to cardinal Caraffa, to frustrate the deceitful intrigues of the dissatisfied monks, and to secure to the worthy provincial the undisturbed possession of his influential dignity.

The correspondence is of special interest, as it proves that in those days there were, even in Germany, many religious houses that were highly commendable ; for the Emperor commends them and puts under the protection of Turiano and of Caraffa the convents of Louvain, Bois le Duc, Utrecht, and others of his hereditary lands [181].

Again, during the year 1495, the Emperor placed new cares upon the Pontiff, when he wrote to him : " Most Holy Father and Most Reverend Lord. The Mayor and councillors of

181. See Document 111.

Windserheim, of the diocese of Würzburg, inform us that they have in their town a monastery of mendicants of the Order of St. Augustin, where the Brothers of Common Life do not observe their rule. The mayor and his council wish the house, dedicated to God, to be reformed, for the benefit of religion in that place, and they have requested us to favor them with commendatory letters to Your Holiness, to help them obtain the benefit of a reformation. We, therefore, have considered it our duty to exhort and request You to deign grant your consent, authority and allowance that the reform should take place. We have no doubt whatever that Your Holiness is, of its own accord, very much inclined to do what shall be most agreeable to us and for which we shall make due returns " [182]. Maximilian well knew that a request of that kind could not be refused.

On the 11th of October of still the same year 1495, emperor Maximilian wrote to the Pontiff a most scathing letter against the degraded morality and scandalous life of the Minors Conventual of Marburg and Grumberg, in the landgraviate of Hesse and diocese of Mainz, requesting him to appoint some trustworthy and honorable men, who should investigate the case and, after being convinced of their detestable behavior, reduce and restrict the friars to the regular observance of their rules [183]. A canonical visitation of the accused monasteries was made, and the result was a lawsuit in which the Conventuals put up a hard fight for further existence. Yet, in the year 1497, by authority of apostolic letters, James Ebenstein, preceptor of the knightly house of St. Anthony of Grumberg, gave possession of the monasteries to Father John von Kyrchberg, guardian of the Observantines of Coblenz [184]. The Conventuals, however, by their impor-

182. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staatsarchiv. Cod. J. J. f° 213.

183. Ibid., f° 231.

184. Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 145.

tune supplications, obtained new papal commissaries, who recalled the former sentence, and were to reinstate them in their possessions. But as soon as Berthold, archbishop of Mainz, heard of this project, he wrote, on the 14th of May, 1498, a very terse letter to the Pontiff, telling him of the scandal of the people and of the displeasure of the prince of Hesse and of the Emperor, that inevitably would follow the threatened reinstatement of the Conventual criminals, as he called them [185]. When pope Alexander VI was thus better informed, he commissioned Herman, archbishop of Cologne, to confirm the first decision ; and, as the recalcitrant friars still continued their opposition, he, in the following year, 1499, ordered Berthold himself to impose silence upon them [186].

Forgetful of their rule, the Minors Conventual of Fritzlar, in the diocese of Mainz, were also living a loose life. Pope Alexander VI, when informed of the facts, ordered Johannes Czoddel, abbot of the Cistercians of Caipel, to expel the worthless friars and to introduce the Observantines of Corbuck in their stead ; but the rascals resorted to violence and, with the assistance of the town's rabble, shamefully ejected the dutiful newcomers, took possession of the monastery again, and even caused trouble to the abbot of Caipel before the cardinal de Costa, their protector in Rome. Emperor Maximilian wrote to the Pope, on the 1st of March, and again, on the 11th of July, 1496, asking him to protect from vexation the abbot and the guardian of Corbuck and to restore the Observantines in Fritzlar [187] ; but, while right was upheld, temporal power was needed.

On complaints made by the duke of Friesland, pope Alexander VI commissioned the two Benedictine abbots of Thedrin-

185. Vienna, ubi supra, Cod. K. K. : Concepten, Originalien, Varia, f° 95b.

186. Wadding, ubi supra.

187. Vienna, ubi supra, Cod. J. J. f° 230 ; Cod. K. K. f° 37.

gen and of Norden to visit the Franciscan convent of Embden, in the diocese of Munster. These pontifical deputies delivered the religious house into the possession of Ludolph Graningen, Vicar of the Observantines of the province of Cologne, on the 26th of January, 1498 ; and in vain did the Conventuals afterwards make every effort to recuperate a monastery which they had disgraced [188].

During the month of August of the same year the reform also took place of the Conventual monastery of Leipsig, in the duchy of Saxony. It was solemnly entered and taken possession of by Father Henry Cantrifusoris, the Observantine Vicar of that province, who was headed in the procession by the counsellors of the duke, the executors of the papal bulls, several guardians, and a great number of learned doctors, called together by the prince. Thirty of the former friars remained with us, the chronicler, Nicholas Glassberger, says [189].

To all these religious communities, reformed under the direct orders of pope Alexander VI, we may add still those of Thurgau, in Saxony [190]; of Aix-la-Chapelle, in the diocese of Liege ; of Groningen, in Friesland, and of Dordrecht, in Holland [191].

Nor did pope Alexander VI overlook other clerical institutions, that were reported to him as needing correction. For instance, he charged, on the 8th of April, 1494, with the

188. Wadding, t. XV, p. 168.

189. Chronica, p. 518 ; Cfr. Wadding, t. XV, p. 168.

190. The preamble of pope Alexander's reform bull of the monastery of Thurgau in Saxony gives a striking synopsis of true religious life : " Ad ea libenter intendimus per que in singulis monasteriis et aliis regularibus locis regularis observantia ferventius vigeat, personeque in illis degentes sub statu prospero et tranquillo, sedulum et gratum famulatum Dno. reddant et animarum suarum salutem querere ac bone exemplo vite alios ad divine maiestatis obsequium inducere possint — et votis illis que ad id conducere noscuntur libenter annuimus, eaque favoribus prosequimur opportunis. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXV, 83, f° 23.

191. Wadding, ibid., p. 260.

reform of the collegiate church of Wisenstaig the abbot of Adelberg, who, prevented by business of his own monastery, took care that the work should be performed, in the year 1495, by the abbot of Bebenhüsen [192].

The Pontiff also took a lively interest in the observance of religious rules and the life of perfection in the female convents of Germany, as we may notice from the following facts.

On the 23d of May, 1493, he issued a bull to confirm certain statutes, ordinations and promises, which the Sisters of the Third Order of the houses " ad Stellam Pontis " and of St. Martin, in the city of Tübingen, had made for the better administration of those institutions and the preservation of morality and piety [193].

On the 6th of December of the same year, he conferred apostolic authority on Caspar Waler, provincial of the Minors Observantine of the province of Strassburg, to assume the direction of the abbess and nuns of the convent of Hoenwardt [194].

year 1483, by the introduction of Sisters from a well-regulated

The community of Söfflingen had been reformed in the house of Poor Clares, but attempts were now made to elect as abbess one of its former nuns. Pope Alexander VI, for fear that in such a case the fruits of reform might be lost, wrote, on the 17th of November, 1495, to the same provincial of the Observantines of the Strassburg province, that, as long as there was any of the former Sisters in the house, no abbess should be elected but one of the reforming religieuses or one of some other convent of St. Clara [195]. He wrote to him again, on the 8th of December of the following year, about the further correction of that convent and, on the next day, sent

192. Munich, K. Staatsarchiv, Regesta 1494, III, IV, V.
193. Wadding, ibid., p. 55.
194. Münich, Reichsarch. Regesta, 1493, IV.
195. Ibid., Regesta, 1495, IV.

to him another brief, renewing his order to elect a Poor Clare nun as abbess of the house [196].

In Brussels, in Belgium, there was a convent of nuns of the Third Order of St. Francis the Penitent, who, for the sake of a more perfect life and of greater security of salvation, requested the Pontiff to change their house into one of the Order of St. Clara, and to admit them to the habit and regular vows of that Order. On the 4th of September, 1501, pope Alexander VI wrote to the bishop of Cambrai : " We, who sincerely wish the increase of divine service, the extension of religious life and the salvation of souls, We highly commend the pious designs of those Sisters " ; and he gave him charge to convert their institution and Order into those of St. Clara, and to admit those Sisters, who were willing, to the reception of the habit and to the profession of the rule of that Saint ; but provided that the Sisters, who, for any reason, might prefer to do so, be allowed to remain for life in some cloistered portion of the convent, where they could continue their former mode of life ; without, however, admitting any novices [197].

ARTICLE X. — REFORM IN ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

There were in England, in the dioceses of Bath, Wells and Lincoln, some Benedictine monasteries governed by priors and subordinate to that of Cluny, in the French diocese of Macon. The great distance and the frequent state of war between France and England were the reasons why the abbot of Cluny had neglected to visit and correct these dependencies, into which great evils and abuses had consequently been

196. Ibid., Regesta, 1496, IV.
197. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I ad XI. Lib. V. Regest. 871, fo 261vo.

introduced. It did not take the Pontiff a long time to become aware of their sad condition. On the 5th of June, 1493, he ordered his collector in England, Hadrian Castellesi, to exempt altogether, in both spiritual and temporal affairs, those English priories from their motherhouse of Cluny and to subject them to the direct authority of the Holy See ; to visit them at regular times, with papal authority and, with the help of God, to correct them of their errors as well as he could [198].

Of great assistance to pope Alexander VI in the reform of the English clergy, both secular and regular, was cardinal John Morton, first bishop of Ely and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, who is much praised for his severity against vice.

On the 22d of July, 1496, the Pontiff addresses to him, and to the bishops of Durham, of Exeter and of Rochester, a bull for the reform of the English houses of the Minors Conventual. He tells them that, from various letters of king Henri VII, he had learned, to his great sorrow, that, in many monasteries of that Order, the friars have not only relaxed their original rules, but are living a lascivious, dissolute life. He orders them to call the prelates and officers of the houses mentioned and to give them eight months time, within which their inmates are obliged to reform themselves in accordance with their regular statutes. At the end of the time set, the papal commissaries must take along with them a few priests, religious and other men of a timorous conscience, and personally go and, with apostolic authority, visit each one of those monasteries, their head and their members ; they must correct and reform them according to their rules and canon law ; and, should they find any of the houses or any of their inmates to be incorrigible or unwilling to be reformed, they

198. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I, II, III, | Lib. III, Regest. 869, f° 81.

must, with official letters, inform the Pope of it, so that he may take such measures as will satisfy the king and his own conscience. They shall, moreover, restrain all contradictors by the use of ecclesiastical censures and of other timely legal means, and by invoking, if need be, the assistance of the temporal power. Notwithstanding anything whatever to the contrary [199].

Neither was Ireland neglected by pope Alexander VI. After having caused a national council to be celebrated for the improvement of ecclesiastical matters in that country, he gave to Neil Mac Cuin, " Mac Aodhboy Iniel ", apostolic authority to reform, in particular, the Conventual monastery of Knocfergus, in the province of Ulster. This community was actually restored to a religious life, in the year 1497, through the introduction of sixteen Fathers from the Observantine house of Dunghall, in the same province.

The religious house of Athskettin, also in Ireland, was likewise reformed during the year 1497 [200].

199. Archiv. Secret Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An I ad X. Lib. VII, Regest. 873, fo 219vo.

200. Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 145.

CHAPTER IV.

Alexander VI favoring dutiful religious.

We here conclude the lengthy record of the acts of correction and improvement of the clergy and religious, performed by pope Alexander VI all over the Catholic World from the beginning of his reign to its end. We admit this account to be very incomplete, but it may suffice to disprove the strange, laconic assertion of Pastor, that, namely, Alexander VI has done nothing for the sake of reform [1]. It may even suggest the opinion that, should the zealous Pontiff have been granted a few years of peaceful administration, all pretext for the Protestant Reformation would have been removed and the religious revolution rendered impossible. His constant warfare on immorality and all vice was certainly sufficient to arouse the hatred and revenge of the incorrigibles, high and low, who felt the whip that had struck them, and burst loose into a concert of blame and slander, when the Pontiff's demise delivered them of the salutary fear, which he inspired as long as he was alive. They were not capable of appreciating his motives in restraining corrupt friars, while encouraging and promoting dutiful religious for the service of God, their own salvation and the edification of the Christian people.

Pope Alexander VI was, indeed, always ready to grant favors to religious institutions that were willing to observe the constitution of their Order, as we may notice from the few following instances :

On the 25th of October, 1493, he prorogated the exemption from the abbess of Paris, in favor of the Benedictine Sisters

1. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd III, s. 484 : " Wenn Alexander VI auch für die Sache der Reform nichts geleisted hat... ".

of the Blessed Mary " de Vega ", in the diocese of Leon, who were directed by the monks called the Observantines of St. Dominic ; at the same time praising them for having acquired a good name by their diligent service of God [2].

There was among the Dominican monks of France a movement of return to the strict observance of their original rules. Several of their houses were already reformed in the dioceses of Albi, Castres, Auch, Arles, Marseilles, Bourges, Hauteville, Clermont and Loudun. Their Master general, Joachim Turiano, had released them from all supervision of the relaxed province and provincial of Toulouse, and subjected them henceforth to the immediate jurisdiction of the Master of the Order and of his Vicar. At his request, pope Alexander VI, on the 13th of May, 1497, readily confirmed his action, and created with apostolic authority an association of all reformed Dominican houses, to be called the Reformed Congregation of France, placing it under the administration of a provincial who should be elected every other year, and ordering that all houses which would reform in the future should be united to it. He granted, moreover, to this Congregation all the rights and privileges enjoyed by those of Lombardy and of Bologna [3].

Pope Alexander VI took under the special protection of the Holy See the exemplary Order of the Cistercians, and exempted from ordinary tithes all their possessions [4].

On the 15th of October of the same year, he praised the Hermits of St. Augustin for their exemplary life and their great learning, by which they produced the most salutary fruits on the field of the Church militant ; and, in token of

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2. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Secret. An. II. Lib. IV, Regest. 870, fo 16vo.

3. Paris, Archives Nation. Cod. L. 327, no. 5 : An Authenticated copy of the bull.

4. Archiv. Castri S. Angeli, Armar. V. Capsa V. Z.

esteem, he secured forever to their Order the honorable position of sacristan of the apostolic Vatican chapel [5].

The Society of the Poor Jesuats, established, in the year 1367, under the invocation of St. Jerome, was known as a saintly religious institution, and directed very prosperous lay confraternities, also called after St. Jerome. Other clerics, however, seeing their success, changed the title of their own churches into that of St. Jerome, imitated their sodalities, their celebrations and processions, and made St. Jerome-collections : all to the detriment of the Jesuats. At the request of the Society, pope Alexander VI, by a bull of August 22d, 1499, forbade under pain of excommunication any further imitation or plagiarism, and gave to the members of the Society as inviolable name, the simple one of Brothers Jesuats of St. Jerome [6].

The Benedictine Congregation of St. Justina of Padua, commenced in the year 1415, and united, in 1503, with the one of Monte Cassino, was, at this time, a collection of numerous Benedictine communities leading exemplary lives, who by their virtuous conduct reflected credit on the Church, and by their zeal furthered its interests.

On the 12th of February, 1493, pope Alexander VI united with it the monastery of St. James of Pontidà, in the diocese of Bergamo [7].

He ordered, on December 22d, 1496, the St. Justina Congregation to provide with a confessor the two St. Mary monasteries of Pavia [8].

He subjected to the same Congregation the renewed Benedictine community of Cavo, on the 10th of April, 1497 [9].

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5. Bullar. Roman., Laertii Cherubini and Bull. Rom. Luxemburgi, at the date.
6. Bullar. Roman. Laertii Cherubini, at the date.
7. Bullar. Cassinen., t. II, p. 407.
8. Ibid., p. 412.
9. Ibid., p. 415.

He united with it, on the 2d of April, 1498, the Calavenna Abbey of SS. Vitus and Modestus [10].

Finally, on April 1st, 1501, he confirmed the union of the St. Prosper monastery of Riez with the St. Justina Congregation of Padua [11].

On the same 1st of April, the Pontiff established the unity of its monasteries, so that its monks could be sent from one of its houses to another, without losing their rank of profession, and gave it a canonical standing, as it were, of a special religious Order ; and, to insure its beneficial existence, gave to it no less than twenty-two new regulations, by which he became the acceptable legislator of that Congregation [12].

By another bull the Pontiff granted to the same Congregation, that all reasonable doubts regarding former concessions should be decided in its favor, and that all privileges and favors conceded to any of its aggregated monasteries should be common to each and all of them [13].

On the 14th of March, 1501, he bestowed upon the Franciscan Observantines, in consideration of their zealous service of God and of their good deserts, all the favors, privileges and immunities, spiritual and temporal, ever granted by the Holy See or its legates to the Order of Preachers, to the Hermits of St. Augustin, to the Order of the Blessed Virgin of Mount Carmel and to all other Mendicant Orders, even those accorded by the apostolic letters called " Mare Magnum ", together with the exemption from a certain tax, called a " quarta ", due to the local bishops or parish rectors [14]. He also took them under his protection, when the Minister general of the Franciscans, Aegidius Delphinus, at-

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10. Ibid., p. 418.
11. Ibid., p. 424.
12. Bullar. Cassinen., t. I, p. 104, 105.
13. Paris, Archives Nation. Cold. L. 37 : Collectiones ex Bullis concessis Congregationi Montis Cassini, alias Sæ Justinae de Padua.
14. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1501-1503. Lib. V, Armar., 29, n. 54, f° 223.

tempted to introduce several changes to their detriment. This prelate, who was a Conventual, gave them to understand that his decrees were made in virtue of certain apostolic letters in opposition to constitutions published by the Sovereign Pontiffs, for the greater harmony of the two branches of the Order. When hearing the complaints of the Observantines, pope Alexander declared that he had granted him no such authority and that he did not allow any change to be made in matters that had been established [15].

Of all female convents, those of the Second and of the Third Order of St. Francis, directed by the Observantines, were the most faithful and edifying, the most worthy of pope Alexander's favors. On the 23d of May, 1501, he issued a brief to his " Beloved daughters in Christ : To all and each of the abbesses and nuns of St. Clara, of the first and of the second rule, and to the Sisters of the Third Order of Penance, living in community, under the care of the Minors Observantines ". All these convents had obtained from previous Popes that their property could not be attached nor confiscated, for non-payment of taxes, tithes or contributions ; but the nuns were afraid that difficulties might be caused them on the occasion of a tithe imposed for the war against the Turks. The Pontiff answered that, to enable them to serve the Almighty with greater peace of mind, he, by the present letters, exempted them from any tithe, tax or collection imposed by himself, the Apostolic See, by its legates or nuncios, or by anyone else with whatever authority it might be [16].

Having been informed of the saintly life of the abbess and nuns of the convent of St. Lucia in Foligno, the Pontiff, on the 2d of April, 1502, donated to them, for every year to come,

15. Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 261.

16. Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 589, Ex Brevi originali.

all the salt, that they could make use of in their community [17].

Not only was the Pope anxious to encourage dutiful religious, but he was also remarkably active in fostering the establishment of more monasteries and convents in every Catholic country. In making our researches, we paid insufficient attention to this particular subject, and noticed but four instances of new houses granted to others than the Franciscan Orders, namely :

1492, December 8, the priory of St. Paul extra muros of Rome, to the Hieronymites [18].

1493, October 24, a priory near that of Leon to the Military Order of St. James [19]. . .

1501, June 23, a monastery in Wilna to the Dominicans [20].

1501, July 24, a monastery for men and a convent for women in Granada to the Augustinians [21]

We may, nevertheless, form an idea of the great number of houses erected, with his encouragement or under his command, for all the religious Orders, from those destined for the Orders of St. Francis. Wadding [22] has compiled a list of them, indicating the papal bull or brief in virtue of which each one was established. We herewith abridge his summary.

1492, Aug. 26, at Schusen, in the diocese of Verden, in Saxony, a convent for the Order of St. Clara.

1492, Oct. 28, near Lyons, for reformed Conventuals.

1493, Febr. 23, in Gaeta, for the Third Order of St. Francis.

1493, Febr. 28, in Scalona, diocese of Toledo, for the Observantines.

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17. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam. An. 1497-1501. Lib. IIII : Armar. 29, no. 53, fo 161vo.

18. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bull. An. I, t. III, Regest. 774, fo 72vo.

19. Wadding, Annal. Min. t. XV, p. 53.

20. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. 8 ad XI. Lib. II, Regest. 868, fo 47vo.

21. Ibid., fo 108vo.

22. Annal., Min. t. XV, p. 488, seq.

1493, Apr. 16, in Fridau, dioc. of Salzburg, for the Observantines [23].

1493, May 25, in Castiglione, dioc. of Cremona, for the Order of St. Clara.

1493, May 31, in Genesium, dioc. of Carthagena, for the Amedean reformed Conventuals.

1493, July 3, in Toledo, for the Third Order.

1493, Aug. 27, in Salamanca, for the Third Order.

1493, Sept. 14, in Jarandilla, dioc. of Placentia, for the Observantines.

1493, in the principality of Piedmont, three monasteries for various Orders [24].

1493, in the diocese of Chonad, in Hungary, for the Observantines [25].

1494, Febr. 15, at Bruele, dioc. of Cologne, for the Observantines.

1494, March 8, near Campo Majore, in Portugal, for reformed Conventuals.

1494, Apr. 8, at Bettona, in Umbria, for the Observantines.

1494, Apr. 15, in Canea, in the island of Crete, for the Third Order.

1494, May 10, at Coruña, dioc. of Compostella, for the Third Order.

1494, May 13, at Carpi, in the duchy of Savoy, for the Amedean reformed Conventuals.

1494, at Cassalia, in Betica, for the Observantines.

1494, May 14, at Arzignano, in the Venetian domain, for the Observantines.

1494, May 18, at Herdeslene, dioc. of Schleswig, for the Third Order.

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23. Ibid., p. 53.
24. Ibid., p. 51.
25. Ibid.

1494, Aug. 19, at Fougères, dioc. of Rouen, for the Minors.
1494, at Villeneuve, dioc. of Agen, for the Observantines.
1494, Aug. 30, at Grosseto, in Etruria, for the Sisters " Mantellatis ".
1494, in Galway, dioc. of Enaghdowne, in Ireland, for the Conventuals.
1495, July 23, at Sermoneta, dioc. of Terracina, for the Observantines.
1495, Oct. 10, at " Boscus male herbatus ", dioc. of Sens, for the Observantines.
1495, Nov. 29, at Vallisard, dioc. of Langres, for the Minors reformed.
1495, Several more houses for the Orders of St. Francis [26].
1496, March 10, near St. Brieuc, for the Observantines.
1496, June 29, at Ehakamenez, dioc. of Prague, for the Observantines.
1496, July 21, at Asolo, dioc. of Brescia, for the Poor Clares.
1496, Aug. 6, at Rothualma, dioc. of Szeben, in Transylvania, for the Minorites.
1496, Wadding [27] indicates a dozen more houses built in 1496 for the Franciscan families.
1497, Febr. 18, at Gandersheim, dioc. of Hildesheim, for the Observantines.
1497, Febr. 27, in Denmark, for the Poor Clares.
1497, March 3, at Cervaria, dioc. of Urgel, for the Observantines.
1497, March, 11, in the duchy of Alençon, for the Poor Clares.
1497, March 14, at Diano, dioc. of Capace, for the Order of St. Clara
1497, May 20, at Horsnen, dioc. of Arosen, in Sweden, for the Minors.

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26. Wadding, ibid., p. 120, seq. | 27. Ibid., p. 133.

1497, May 20, in Tiorcken, dioc. of Lund, in Sweden, for the Minors.

1497, May 20, in Nestroerden, dioc. of Roskilde, in Denmark, for the Minors.

1498, Jan. 9, in Mechlin, for the Poor Clares.

1498, Jan. 9, at Stricking, dioc. of St. Andrews, in Scotland, for the Observantines.

1498, May 29, in Palermo, for the Order of St. Clara.

1498, Nov. 28, in Seville, for the Order of St. Clara.

1498, Nov. 28, in the " Insula Sapientiae " near St. Malo, for the Observantines.

1498, Dec. 1, at Terni, dioc. of Palermo, for the Order of St. Clara.

1498, At Ptolsk, in Poland, for the Franciscans.

1499, Febr. 16, at Giennes, dioc. of Auxerre, for the Poor Clares.

1499, Febr. 17, at Palma, dioc. of Cordova, for the Order of St. Clara.

1499, Apr. 20, in Aversa, for the Third Order.

1499, Apr. 30, at Mailly, dioc. of Amiens, for the Observantines.

1499, Apr. 30, at Boutencourt, diocese of Amiens, for the Observantines.

1499, Sept. 21, at Alcandete, dioc. of Jaén, for the Observantines.

1499, Sept. 21, at Alcandete, dioc. of Jaén, for the Order of St. Clara.

1499, Oct. 5, in Toledo, for the Observantines.

1499, Oct. 5, in Otranto, for the Observantines.

1499, Oct. 26, in Venice, for the Third Order.

1500, Febr. 4, in Vicenza, in Italy, for the Order of St. Clara of the 2^{d} rule.

1500, March 31, at Mortiernelle, dioc. of Angers, for the Observantines.

1500, Oct. 18, near San Geminiano, in the diocese of Volterra, for the Clerics Regular of St. Augustin [28].

1500, Oct. 31, at Truxillo, dioc. of Placentia, for the Observantines.

1500, Dec. 13, at Gandes, dioc. of Hildesheim, for the Observantines.

1500, Wadding relates [29] that pope Alexander VI allowed several more new houses, especially for the reformed Conventuals and for the Poor Clares.

1501, Jan. 3, at " Castro Politii ", dioc. of Cefalonia, for the Observantines.

1501, Jan. 18, at Fraxenal, dioc. of Badajoz, for the Order of St. Clara.

1501, Jan. 23, at Baza, dioc. of Cadiz, for the Third Order.

1501, March 13, in some place of the dioceses of Avila, Salamanca or Segovia, for the Order of St. Clara.

1501, June 2, in Ragusa, for the Poor Clares.

1501, Sept. 4, at Montforte, dioc. of Lucca, for the Observantines.

1501, Sept. 9, in Perugia, for the Third Order.

1501, Sept. 25, near Bilfeld, dioc. of Paderborn, for the Observantines.

1501, Wadding [30] reports several more monasteries built for the Observantines, in particular, that of " de Rubo " or " de Arançaço, in Cantabria, and others for reformed Conventuals.

1502, Jan. 8, at Monte Muro, dioc. of Tricarico, for the Observantines.

1502, During this year pope Alexander VI granted quite a number of new houses to the Orders of St. Francis [31].

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28. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Minutae Brev. Sixti IV, Innocentii VIII, Alexandri VI, Julii II. Cod. I, f° 173.

29. Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 217, seq.

30. Ibid., p. 241.

31. Ibid., p. 259.

1503, In the year of his death he still encouraged the erection of several monasteries for the Observantines [32].

This extension of the faithful religious Orders was the last and most efficacious of all the means employed by the Pontiff to reform the Church, as it procured, through the increase of the number of their communities, a corresponding increase of good example to all the people, and of public preaching of religious truth and virtue. These salutary results were often the sole reasons alleged by princes and prelates for the erection of new monasteries ; in particular for the introduction of the Dominicans into the city of Wilna; and they sufficiently appear to have been also the Pontiff's aim, from the fact that, although engaged with the gravest questions of Church and State, he did not disdain to often direct, in their missionary labors, zealous friars like the Observantine, Bernardino de Feltre, whom he ordered to preach the Lenten sermons, in the year 1494, to the people of Ascoli [33]. Nor did pope Alexander merely extend the beneficial influence exerted by well established Orders, but he also welcomed the help of new religious Institutions.

The " Apostlebrothers of a Poor Life, " a Congregation of pious laymen, with but simple temporary vows and without any special constitution, lived in common in several places of Lombardy and other Italian cities. They suffered, however, betimes, from the loss of Brothers who, at the expiration of the term of their vows, returned to their homes and former occupations. Pope Alexander VI gave them a rule of life and, by his bull of the 6th of January, 1496, at the request of their Vicar General, John de Scarpa, he left them the green habit, given them by pope Innocent VIII, allowed them to make solemn perpetual vows, aggregated them to the Hermits

32. Ibid., p. 272.

33. Wadding, ibid., p. 63, 68.

of St. Augustin and granted to them all the privileges of this great Order [34].

Louis XI, King of France, had instituted in Paris the royal Military Order of the Archangel St. Michael, which was to consist of thirty-six Knights, who were at all times to be ready for the defense of the Kingdom and of the whole Catholic Church. His successor requested the Pope to confer upon them the canonical approbation. Pope Alexander VI was in bad terms with Charles VIII at the time, but in consideration of the Order's laudable object, he solemnly approved it by his bull of the 13th of November, 1496 [35].

Already on the 26th of February, 1493, the Pope had, at the request of the French king, confirmed the " Congregation of the Poor Hermits Observantines of the Order of Minors " as they were called at first, and the constitution which St. Francis de Paula had composed for them, with the consent of Pirrus, his archbishop of Cosenza, and the approval of popes Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII [36]. Since that time St. Francis de Paula had changed the name of his new Institution into that of the " Order of Minims, " and had learned from experience that it would be useful to modify its statutes. In fact, he had reduced to ten the thirteen chapters that contained the rules, and had, for the better direction of the friars, changed some regulations and added others. He then submitted to the approbation of the Supreme Pontiff his new legislation and the new name of his Congregation. Pope Alexander VI ordered it all to be carefully examined and, soon after, annulled the former appellation, rules and ordinances, and approved them forever, as they had been renewed. He, moreover, granted to the Minims of Francis de

34. Bullarium Diplom. et Privileg. Augustae Turin., vol. III, p. 236.

35. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 808, Alex. VI. Bullar. An. V, VI, t. XXXVII, f° 144.

36. Archiv. Secret. Vatic, Regest. 775. Alex. VI. Bull. An. I, t. IV, f° 129vo.

Paula all the rights, privileges, favors and exemptions conceded to them under their first name and regulated all questions in regard to the receiving of alms of any kind, of which he reserved to himself and to his successors the right of ownership, leaving to the friars the use and usufruct of them. He, finally, established Francis de Paula as the irrevocable Father, Superior and general Corrector of the Order. All of these enactments are contained in his bull of May 1st, 1501 [37].

By the same bull the Pontiff blessed and approved the seven chapters which St. Francis de Paula had formulated as a Rule of Life for the faithful of either sex who wished to enter the Third Order of the Minims.

Pope Alexander also sanctioned the institution of a new religious Congregation for both men and women. Jeane de Valois, daughter of the King of France, Louis XI, in defense of the bond of matrimony, had opposed her divorce from Louis XII, but felt happy when her marriage was declared null and void ; and, henceforth, devoted herself entirely to works of charity and of piety. Full of devotion towards the Blessed Mother of God she gathered around herself, in separate buildings, erected with her own money in the city of Bourges, a number of pious men, including priests, who were called Brothers ; and devout women, named Sisters ; all of whom were to take the three ordinary solemn vows, and the Sisters were to live in cloistered communities. The name given to the new Institute was " Congregation of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. " With the assistance of her confessor, Gilbert Nicolai, the learned guardian of the Observantine house of Amboise, she proposed to her followers of either sex, as a Rule of religious life, the imitation of the ten principal virtues of the Blessed Virgin. The bishop of Albi, Louis d'Amboise, first approved the rule, and then

37. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 845. Alex. VI. Bull. An. IX, t. LXXIV, f° 275-294.

sought, together with the saintly foundress and her sister, Anna, duchess of Bourbon, the confirmation of the Apostolic See. The Pope took this occasion to manifest once more the special devotion, which he had always shown towards the glorious Virgin Mother, and, after having examined the ten chapters of the rule, he solemnly approved and confirmed them, by his bull of the 12th, " Pridie Idus, " of February, 1501 [38].

The idea of reform was rife and active all over Christianity during the reign and under the exertions of pope Alexander VI. At that time commenced, if not with his official co-operation, yet with his encouragement and blessing, a novel kind of charitable institutions, whose primary object was moral reform and its consequence, religious life. An eloquent Franciscan Father, named John Tisserand, had undertaken to save from a life of disgrace the public women of Paris. He touched the hearts of the most obdurate, and great numbers of them called on him for an asylum, where they might be preserved from a relapse into vice. He found for them a house of refuge, which he dedicated, together with its inmates, to St. Mary Magdalen ; while John Simon, the bishop of Paris, prescribed a gentle and salutary mode of life to these penitent sinners [39]. Cerri assures us [40] that pope Alexander VI approved the Institution already in the year 1494. King Charles VIII built a convent for the Magdalenes and Louis XII gave to them the palace which he had occupied as duke of Orleans. They were afterwards transferred to the church of St. Magloire, where, in the course of time, they became regular Augustinian Sisters [41].

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38. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 868, Alex. VI. Secret. An. VIII ad XI. Lib. III, f° 69. Raynaldi, Ann. Eccles., ad an. 1501, no. XXIV, seqq. gives the text of the whole lengthy bull.

39. Dion. Samarthanus, Gallia Christiana, t. VII.

40. Borgia ossia Alessandro VI, vol. I, p. 143.

41. Bérault Bercastel, Hist. de l'Eglise, t. 10, p. 564.

In the year 1499, the good work was introduced into the city of Cologne, under the invocation of St. Mary Magdalen, by the members of the Third Order of St. Francis [42], and Berthold of Henneberg, bishop of Mainz, went to considerable expense in erecting a similar house in his diocese.

Pope Alexander VI has certainly deserved much praise for his constant and not unsuccessful labors for reform, although unjustly ignored even by late Catholic historians ; but we owe him commendation also for his effort, though unsuccessfully made, to publish a code of laws and regulations, intended to morally renew not only the Court of Rome but also every branch of the universal Church.

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42. Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 197.

CHAPTER V.

Attempt at universal reform.

We have noticed that, from the beginning of his reign, pope Alexander VI was engaged with the correction of particular abuses, wherever he heard or found them to exist. He had long since conceived the idea of enacting, either by the publication of a solemn bull or with the co-operation of a council, such general legislation as would remedy and prevent all public evil in the Church; when, on the 14th of June, 1497, an atrocious crime took place, which the Pontiff considered as the greatest calamity of his reign. His beloved nephew, Giovanni de Borgia, duke of Gandia and Captain General of his army, whom he esteemed as his right arm in the administration of his temporal domain, had been foully murdered and thrown into the Tiber.

He felt this keenly, but, being a man of profound religious conviction, he soon rose to higher thoughts and, already on the 19th of the month, he convoked a consistory of the cardinals, in which he concluded his bitter complaints by saying : God has perhaps allowed it all for some sin of ours, because the duke had not deserved so cruel a death. We have decided, therefore, to regulate the manner of living in the Church, and to appoint a commission of six cardinals, who shall have the charge of preparing the holy work ; and, to set an example to the members of the Sacred College, he added : " and We submit our own person to the regulations that they shall make "[1] It is, however, sheer wicked comment of

1. Marin Sanuto, Ragguali, 24 di Giugno, 1497 ; Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. 3, p. 125vo.

Raynaldi [2], H. de l'Epinois [3], Thuasne [4] and of Pastor [5] to say, without any authority, that pope Alexander VI felt himself personally guilty or promised to amend his own life. What he promised was to reform the Church.

To this effect he appointed a commission of six of the most commendable cardinals : Oliver Caraffa and George de Costa, Antoniotto Pallavicini and Giovanni di San Giorgio, Francis Piccolomini and Raphael Riario [6]. To these were added other cardinals and prelates of high consideration, such as the archbishop of Cosenza and the bishop of Capaccio, the papal secretaries [7], and, in the beginning of November, all the other cardinals [8].

The Pope himself was an active collaborator with the commission. The commanding form of certain propositions and the references to former Popes, as to " our predecessors ", indicate his hand [9] ; and in a number of suggestions of the cardinals it is explicitly stipulated that they must be completed or approved by the Pontiff [10]. He himself proposed, on the 20th of September, and it was admitted, that a Pope should not impose tithes on the clergy, except on the occasion of a general council, although he should have the right of asking a " subsidium charitativum " [11].

2. Annal Eccles., ad an. 1497, no. IV.

3. Rev. des Quest. Hist., vol. XXIX, p. 419.

4. Burchard, Diar., tom. II, p. 301, footn.

5. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 368.

6. Auctores passim—Pope Julius II followed the example of his predecessor, when, on the 15th of November, 1502, he said at the consistory that during the foregoing days there had been question of the reform of the Church, and that the charge of it had been given to the three first cardinals of each Order Ant. Giustinian states that only two cardinals of each Order, whom he names, had been appointed ; and he adds that, from past experience, the commission was not expected to do any good: Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXVI, 10, f° 66vo ; Villari, Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, vol. III, p. 299.

7. Dispatch of the Florentine ambassador, Alex. Braccio, ap. Burchard, Diar., vol. II, p. 670.

8. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 369.

9. Bibl. Vatic. Lat., Cod. 3884, fiis 75, 79vo, etc.

10. Ibid., fiis 15, 17vo, 73vo, etc.

11. Ibid., f° 12.

The news of the institution of this reform commission spread rapidly, naturally making a twofold impression : of fear and of joy. The following words of the pious Camaldulese, Pietro Delphino, to a prior of his Order [12] express the feelings of all good Christians at the time : " If, as you tell me ", he says, " the death of the duke of Gandia has turned the mind of the Pontiff and of the cardinals to the reform of the Church, I shall believe the golden age to have returned ".

Perrens wrote of late in a work crowned by the French Academy [13] that, in consequence of the Pope's inconstancy, the commission never came together, or busied itself with other matters. But the ambassador Alex. Braccio informed the Florentines, on the 22d of June, 1497, that the six cardinals, designated for the reform of the holy Church, set to work at once and assembled in the Palace every morning [14], as they continued to do. Their extensive labors, which are proof of their fidelity to duty, are preserved by several copies, particularly in two manuscript folio volumes of the Vatican Library, namely, in Codex 3883 of the " Vaticana Latina, " comprising one hundred and seventy-three leaves or three hundred and forty-six pages, under the title of " Propositiones et Avisamenta pro Reformatione ", and in Codex 3884, containing one hundred and thirty-two leaves.

This latter volume bears the misleading title of " Constitution of Reform of the Roman Court ", and this may have caused Pastor to say [15] that the reform bull commences with decisions regarding the Pope and his court, continues with the reform of the College of Cardinals and further speaks of dockage and provisioning of the City, to be finally taken up again by matters spiritual. In fact, however, we find nothing

12. Epist. Lib. V, Epa 37.
13. Jérome Savonarole, p. 212.
14. Ap. Burchard. Diar., vol. II, p. 670.
15. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 371, seq.

in a definite form but a project of Introduction to some possible bull of reform, and, on folio 104vo of the mentioned Codex 3883, there is even a suggestion of cardinal de Costa, that, not one, but four bulls should be issued : a first, concerning the Pope and the Palace ; a second, about the cardinals ; a third, regarding the officials of the Roman court, and a fourth bull, for the reform of the Church generally.

The preparatory labors of the reform commission were performed mainly by cardinals Caraffa [16], George de Costa [17] and Francis Piccolomini [18] ; but it is evident from the style of some paragraphs that several others contributed to them. They consist of disconnected counsels, suggestions and propositions, some of which were approved by vote [19], and, as conclusions, registered in a special volume [20] ; but all were gathered, as time went on, without any logical order, as we may see at a glance from their one hundred and twenty-five sub-titles, published by Pastor [21]. While the constitutions of former Pontiffs were carefully looked up and partially renewed [22], several new laws were recommended, a few of which were encroaching upon the Pope's God-given supreme authority [23], but were subject to further consideration and correction.

We here summarize the most important projects of the reform commission, reducing them to four groups, according to the bulls proposed by cardinal de Costa.

In regard to " the Pope and the Palace, " there is no suggestion affecting the daily, moral life of the Pontiff ; but several projects of laws relating to his public policies and the members of his court. Rules are proposed :

To prescribe the high qualifications, the number, the mode

16. Cod. 3884, f° 110.
17. Cod. 3883, f° 104vo.
18. Ibid., f° 169.
19. Cod. 3884, f° 12.
20. Cod. 3883, fiis 90, 107.
21. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 834, seq.
22. Cod. 3883, fiis 130, 149, etc.
23. Cod. 3884, f° 27.

of admission and the disinterestedness of the Prothonotaries and of the other papal officials [24].

To order the Master of the Sacred Palace to direct a daily school of sciences, of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldaic, of theology and of canon and civil law ; at the expense of the papal treasury [25]

To prevent the abuse of forgery and the sale of indulgences [26].

To abolish the statutes and customs of various countries opposing ecclesiastical liberties, especially those subjecting clerics to civil courts. It was remarked here that " Our Holy Father had already sent to France a bull regarding this abuse " [27].

To make a change in some pontifical acts, " according to the intentions of Our Holy Father, " as in granting benefices [28].

To prevent the exactions of the officials of the papal treasury [29].

To establish at the Sacred Palace an eleemosinary chaplain, who should let no beggar go hungry, and should care for impoverished prelates and other honest people [30].

To forbid granting the degree of doctor by bull of favor. It was noticed here that the Pope had already issued a letter against that abuse [31].

To order that ecclesiastics only be appointed as governors of cities, and as guardians of castles of the Pontifical States [32].

To prevent the Pontiff from granting to any emperor, king or temporal authority a right to collect any tithes from ecclesiastical persons or places. Pope Alexander VI did so in

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24. Vatic. Lat. Cod. 3884, fiis 1, 2.
25. Ibid., fis 2; 43vo and 44vo.
26. Ibid., fo 12vo.
27. Ibid., f° 24.
28. Ibid., f° 27.
29. Ibid., f° 36.
30. Ibid., fo 43vo.
31. Ibid., fo 44vo.
32. Ibid., f° 77, and Vatic., Lat. Cod. 3883, f° 106.

regard to America ; but because of exceptional circumstances, and only in favor of the Church [33].

To refuse to illegitimates the care of souls, before the age of twenty-five years, and higher dignities in collegiate churches, unless they be specially qualified [34].

To prevent the Pope from moving his court to other cities or countries, without the consent of a majority of the cardinals [35].

To oblige him to celebrate a general council as soon as easily feasible [36].

To forbid the Penitentiaries accepting any gifts from their penitents, even when freely offered [37].

To enact that all officials of the Palace be under the censorship of a cardinal, to be appointed by the Pope, and who is to report to him. The Pontiff shall then most severely punish all delinquents [38].

To declare illicit any alienation of lands or cities of the Church domain, in any way or form, or the reduction of the yearly tribute from them [39].

To prevent the Pontiff from transferring any bishop, or removing from his see, without a trial at the Roman court and the advice of the majority of the Sacred College [40].

To impose a number of Apostolic duties upon the Pope—all of which pope Alexander VI was observing exemplarily [41].

To prevent the Pope from surrounding himself with men-at-arms when walking through the City. He should be satisfied with his escort, and proceed, as former Pontiffs did, wearing the red cape [42].

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33. Ibid., f° 90 ; Cod. 3883, f° 139.
34. Ibid., fo 92vo.
35. Ibid., f° 112.
36. Ibid.
37. Vatic. Lat. Cod. 3883, f° 2vo.
38. Ibid., fo 105vo.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid., f° 107.
41. Ibid., f° 169.
42. Ibid., f° 169 or 170.

To allow none but priests to live in the Palace [43].

It was proposed that the Pope should prepare a Constitution to prevent all abuses at future Conclaves [44].

In regard to the Cardinals it was proposed :

That the banquets, given by them, should consist of one boiled meat and of one roasted, commencing with some pastry and ending with some pie or fruit. During the repast Holy Scripture should be read, but there should be no music, no secular songs and no tales from histrions [45].

That cardinals should not act as envoys of princes [46].

That they should excel others by a clean life and holiness [47].

That henceforth the cardinals should have but one diocese or archdiocese, and, if they should receive from it or from benefices, such as commendams, dignities or pensions, any more than six thousand ducats, net revenue, they could not accept any more prebends ; and, if they had any benefices bringing their income to a larger sum, they should resign them in favor of other clerics [48].

That they should reform the clergy of their title churches [49].

That, while visiting in the city, the cardinals should not be accompanied by more than twenty horses [50].

That they should procure due divine service in their commendams [51].

That the number of cardinals should not exceed twenty-four, and that they should be assumed proportionately from all nations ; that they should be doctors in theology or law, of excellent morals and experienced in affairs. A very few, however, of ducal or princely origin and of sufficient learning,

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43. Ibid., f° 170.
44. Ibid.
45. Vatic. Lat. Cod. 3883, f° 18.
46. Ibid., f° 138vo.
47. Vatic. Lat. Cod. 3884, f° 17.
48. Ibid., f° 78.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid.

could be admitted. They should not be created nor afterwards be made bishops without the advice of the Sacred College in session [52].

That the cardinals should reside in the city [53].

Several propositions were made regarding the officials of the Roman curia, in particular:

That no official or cardinal's courtier shall keep a concubine, under pain of excommunication, deprivation of his benefices and inability to receive others. The auditor of the treasury shall carefully try to find them out, and punish them according to canon law [54].

That any one, of whatever dignity, grade, state or condition he may be, who shall become guilty of simony, by giving, receiving or participating in any manner, shall, by the act itself, incur excommunication, suspension and interdict and all the penalties imposed by " our predecessors " [55].

That no " scriptores " shall carry to their residences any official papers or bulls to be registered, under pain of excommunication " latae sententiae " [56].

That various abuses be corrected in the chancery, such as incorrect registration, the carelessness of the " Magistri, " who are engaged with other business, instead of being at the office [57].

That the places of the various colleges of the Roman curia should no longer be sold [58].

Quite a number of laws were proposed for the general reform :

To oblige, under heavy penalties, all bishops to hold every year a diocesan synod, and all archbishops to celebrate every

52. Ibid., f° 25.
53. Ibid., f° 171.
54. Vatic. Lat. Cod. 3883, f° 20vo ; Ibid. Cod. 3884, fiis 8, 21, 45vo, 87.
55. Ibid., fo 20vo ; Ibid., Cod. 3884, f° 5.
56. Cod. 3883, fo 53vo, 63.
57. Ibid., fo 56 and 56vo.
58. Ibid., f° 99.

three years a provincial council with their suffragans, for the reform of their clergy [59].

That all concubinaries in possession of any benefice or dignity, were it as high as that of a bishop, shall be deprived of it, shall become unable to receive any other and subject to all the penalties inflicted on them by canon law [60].

That none but a doctor of theology or of law be elected as bishop, except one of a small city with a revenue of less than four hundred florins [61].

That in every cathedral there be a prebend for a master of theology, who shall lecture twice a week and preach sometimes ; also, if possible, for a doctor law, who is to be the diocesan procurator [62].

Against the abuse of many German cathedrals and monasteries, to admit none but knights and noblemen, who observe the habits of lay people, never pursued any literary studies and are unable to speak a word of latin ; and these are sometimes elected to be prelates or bishops, giving afterwards much scandal and doing a great deal of evil [63].

Against rich prelates who require as much as two or two and a half years' revenue from poor beneficiaries on taking possession of benefices [64].

Against prelates and princes claiming from clerics a tribute of carriages, hunters, dogs and birds, and even the fattening of their hogs [65].

To oblige all archbishops, bishops, abbots and all beneficiaries to reside at their churches, under pain of deprivation, should they be absent for six months without permission of the Apostolic See [66].

Against the statutes of churches in the province of Cologne,

59. Vatic. Lat. Cod. 3884, f° 6, 24.
60. Vat. Lat. Cod. 3884, f° 8.
61. Ibid., f° 9.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid., f° 9v°, 22v°, 23.
64. Ibid., f° 10.
65. Ibid., f° 10v°.
66. Ibid., fiis, 11, 46v° and Cod. 3883, f° 135.

that burden the benefices so heavily as to prevent the taking possession of them [67].

To henceforth prevent the bishops of England from taking a very wicked oath, derogatory to apostolic letters and obliging them to observe statutes opposed to ecclesiastical liberties [68].

To do away with the simoniacal abuse of bishops ordaining seldom, unless it be for the sake of money [69].

Against the unbecoming attire of German prelates, who appear not only not as bishops but not even as clerics, and who never or seldom celebrate and hold ordinations [70].

Against the ordination of clerics, without any inquiry as to their age, morals and learning, to the detriment and scandal of the people [71].

To impose heavy penalties on bishops alienating church property, and on the chapters of their cathedral lending their consent thereto [72].

To eliminate the abuse of receiving money for tolerating one's criminal life, as is done in many provinces [73].

To put an end to the abuse, that none be admitted into monasteries or convents without promising money [74].

To severely punish bishops who do not order convents of Sisters to be closed [75].

That both male and female novices should make their profession after a year's novitiate ; otherwise it happens that, not considering themselves as bound by the rule, they leave and marry [76].

To prohibit that any right be henceforth granted to any prince or potentate, to present for, or nominate to, any diocese ; or that the Pontiff make any promise or give any

67. Ibid., f° 14.
68. Ibid., f° 21vo.
69. Ibid., f° 22.
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid., f° 22vo.
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid.

hope of appointing a bishop according to their wish or will. Any bull or brief given to such an effect should be annulled [77].

Such were some of the numerous suggestions and projects of laws prepared by pope Alexander VI and his commission of cardinals. They embraced the reform not only of the Roman court, but also of all Catholic countries, especially of Germany, where simony and immorality were more shameless than in any other part of the Church. They were a first preparation of the council of Trent, forming, as they did, the vast programme of the discussions and the reform decrees of the great synod. It seems that the Pontiff, overlooking at first the difficulties necessarily to be encountered, expected to attain his holy end, by the publication of a solemn bull, or of a series of bulls, embodying, if possible, and sanctioning all the lawful conclusions of the reform commission. The following was to be the Introduction to the intended document :

Placed by divine providence on the watchtower of the Apostolic See, to utproot, in accordance with the duties of our pastoral office, the evil that must be destroyed, and to plant the good that must be fostered, We are, with all the ardor of our soul, engaged in the reform of morals. For We observe that the conduct of the Christians has little by little deviated from the perfect ancient rule, has broken through the former salutary principles of holy councils and of Sovereign Pontiffs that are to curb sensuality and avarice, and has burst forth into a licentiousness not to be tolerated any longer. Mortals are by nature prone to evil and their cravings do not always obey reason, but, as the apostle says, lead the mind into captivity and the people into the law of sin. We have certainly always wished that this licentiousness should be restricted by new constitutions. We have often labored

77. Vatic. Lat. Cod. 3883, f° 106.

to that effect with Pius II, Paul II, Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII of happy memory, our predecessors, when We were in lower condition and enjoyed the honors of the cardinalate. In the beginning of our pontificate, also, We have decided to devote our cares to that matter more than to all others, but involved as We have been in the greatest difficulties, in consequence of the advent into Italy of our very beloved son in Christ, Charles, the Most Christian King of the French, with a most powerful army, We have been compelled to postpone it until this day. But now We have commenced the reform with our Roman Curia, which, being an assemblage from all nations that profess Christianity, is obliged to set others an example of good living. Wishing, therefore, to conduct to a practical result a matter so holy, so necessary and desired by Us, since a long time, We have selected from the college of our Venerable brethren the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church six members most commendable and fearing God above all, namely, Oliver, bishop of Sabina and George, bishop of Albano, Antoniotto of the title of St. Praxedes, and John of the title of Saints Nereus and Achileus, cardinal-priests, also Francis of St. Eustachius and Raphael of St. George, cardinal-deacons, that We may be helped by their labor and rely on their counsel and prudence. After considering all the constitutions of past times and carefully weighing the circumstances of the present day, We have published with apostolic authority the subjoined constitutions and ordinances, which We decree to have also the authority of a constitution and which We command to be observed inviolably, while certain constitutions of our predecessors, issued in regard to these matters, shall continue to remain in force [78]. And, following the footsteps of Our Saviour, whose place We undeser-

78. Dr. von Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 371 and 834, cuts short the document here. Why not publish also the edifying remainder?

vedly fill on earth, who commenced to act and to teach and who instructed Us no less by example than by word, We also have subjected Ourselves to the law, although We have the supreme power of the holy canons and of the making of laws, and although We possess a more sublime dignity and higher authority. Wishing to set an example to others, We accept the reform for our own person and for the whole of our official family ; We have resolved to conduct our life according to our dignity and rank, and We bind by this constitution all those of our domestic household and all others subject to our immediate command, especially those living at this same court [79].

The bull itself was never published, and this failure is ascribed by the enemies of Pope Alexander VI to the most unhistorical motives. Pastor [80] refers to Sigismundo dei Conti [81], when asserting that the matter of reform was first postponed and then forgotten. S. dei Conti (Who wrote this part of his Stories after Pope Alexander's death) says in reality that no good was long expected from the Pope, because he very soon took back the government of the Church ; although he had never given up this government, and was still actively preparing his general reform, in the month of December 1497 [82]; and his commission was still in existence and enjoying considerable authority with him, as late as the 24th of July, 1498; and this we see from the fact that, on that day, the electors of Mainz, Cologne and Saxony, desiring to maintain certain privileges of the Mainz cathedral, sent letters of request not only to the Pope and to the Sacred College, but also to the Six Reformers, " ad Sex Reformatores " [83]. Pas-

79. See Document 112.
80. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 372.
81. Le Storie de' suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 270.
82. Bolletin de la Real Academia de la Historia, t. XX, p. 163.
83. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staatsarchiv, Cod. K. K. f° 140b.

tor refers also to Çurita, who, however, correctly states [84] that little effect was expected from the reform agitations, because no respect was paid by them to the Princes of Christianity. In spite of the solemn declaration of the Pontiff himself, Çurita adds, a few lines further, that he stopped the progress of the cardinals' labors, alleging the impropriety of being deprived by them of his liberty to grant to the Princes what they might ask from him. We will soon notice, however, how pope Alexander VI was, as little as any one of the cardinals, inclined to concede the requests of temporal princes, that might happen to be opposed to the rights of the Church.

Their habitual unfairness to Pope Alexander VI explains why Raynaldi [85] and Gregorovius [86] equally allow themselves to say that the Pope dropped all attempts at reform, under the pretext of his supreme authority being curtailed thereby. To explain why Alexander's bull was not issued, Pastor [87] literally copies the groundless insults of Höfler [88], who says that the Pontiff had not the moral power any more to reform his licentious life, that he should not have been Don Roderic de Borja nor Pope Alexander, to be able now to become a different person. To this we may simply reply that his pretended dissolute life is an unjust assumption of the two hateful historians, and that his transformation into a different person would have been a misfortune to himself and to the Church.

The true and real cause why the bull was never published becomes apparent from the very minutes of the labors of the commission of cardinals. It seems that the Pontiff expected at first that the publication of one or more solemn Constitutions would suffice to secure the correction of certain abuses,

84. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. 3. Cap. 6, f° 125vo.
85. Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1497, no. VIII.
86. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 402.
87. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 372.
88. Don Rodrigo de Borja, s. 83.

known to exist at the court of Rome or in other parts of the Church. But, as the work of the commissioners was progressing, more and more evils were found to need reform ; many grievous abuses were noticed, for which the cardinals did not propose a remedy, but whose correction they left to a next future council [89]. At one place [90], it is remarked that the cardinals have suggested projects of reform, which the Pope may revise and publish first here, but ought afterwards be laid before " the council ". At another [91], one of the commissaries states : " There exist in the ecclesiastical order, outside of the Curia, abuses without number, for which there must necessarily be provided; but, as there will be at the ' council ' representatives of each nation, each one will know how to remedy his own shortcomings. We may, therefore, consult about some matters here ; but, later on, provisions will be made in the ' council ' for the good of each country. " The records of their sessions relate again [92] how some cardinals insist that the holy ' council ' should take such measures as would insure the freedom of the Church, and forbid under more severe penalties the imposition by temporal princes of charges and taxes on the clergy, as they imposed on the laity. They further speak [93] of the encroachments on ecclesiastical rights and of innumerable defects and abuses, which, they say, can be corrected only by means of a ' general council '. Some of the projects of laws are so drawn up as if they were already enacted by a council : ' Statuit Sancta Synodus, ' the holy synod has decreed that... [94].

From all these and similar minutes of the sessions of the reform commission it evidently appears that, should the Pontiff ever have thought of reforming the Church by means of

89. Bibl. Vatic. Lat., Cod. 3884, f° 10.
90. Ibid., f° 15.
91. Ibid., f° 21vo.
92. Ibid., f° 10vo.
93. Ibid., f° 24.
94. Ibid., f° 44vo.

a bull or constitution, his chosen cardinals would soon have persuaded him of the necessity of a general synod, to obtain the desired effect. Indeed, if Çurita expected little good from an enterprise that paid no attention to the temporal princes, what hope of success could he have, if that undertaking was directed against the abuses of which the princes were to be corrected, and against privileges of which they were to be deprived ? What hope was there of reforming by a papal letter the simoniacal prince-bishops of Germany, who, in their contempt of many pontifical constitutions, lived the relaxed lives of the secular nobility? The difficulties were so numerous and so great that the cardinals and, ere long, the Pope himself were convinced that the combined efforts of all the prelates of the Church were indispensable, to bring to a satisfactory termination the work which they were preparing. In fact, the opposition was so threatening, that pope Julius II, who imitated his predecessor in employing a commission of cardinals to prepare the fifth council of Lateran, hardly ventured to touch upon the reform of the Church on this occasion, and it took the many years' debates of the council of Trent, to finish the hard undertaking actually initiated by pope Alexander VI.

From all this it is manifest that, as the cardinals were simply making preparation for an ecumenical synod, there was no question, no possibility of issuing, without it, one or more bulls that would embody and sanction their projects of reform. It is out of place, therefore, to look for a reason of the non-appearance of the papal constitution, and it should rather be asked why the Pontiff did not convene the intended general council. To this question, however, the history of the time readily supplies an answer, in no way discreditable to pope Alexander VI. As we shall see hereafter, constant disturbances and wars in Italy and incursions of the Turks into Christian provinces did not allow him any opportunity, during the

last years of his reign, to gather the venerable, peaceful assembly, whose counsels might help him to execute successfully his plans of universal reform. Pope Julius II, no admirer of Alexander VI, who convoked the Council of Lateran in the year 1511, stated that " it had been so long deferred by the public misfortunes which had commenced to distress Italy at pope Alexander's time and still continued to disturb it " [95]. As the Civiltà correctly remarks [96], the grand work so happily finished by the council of Trent was but a wish at this time, that a thousand circumstances conspired, one after another, to render sterile. Meanwhile unable to do better, the Pontiff continued to make particular corrections and to promote moral improvements everywhere, in all the various ways hitherto related.

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95. Bullar. Roman. Julii. Constitutio XXVII.

96. An. 19°, vol. I, p. 144.

CHAPTER VI.

Defense of ecclesiastical rights.

It is an erroneous idea that the intended reform was solely one of morals. There existed at the time abuses even more mischievous and threatening than immorality. The cardinals of the commission had serious reasons to put forth projects of laws for the protection of the clergy against the impositions of unjust charges and taxes, and against the nominations of bishops and of other church dignitaries by temporal princes and kings ; for there was danger of the One Universal Church being destroyed, if possible, by the introduction of national churches. The schismatical Pragmatic Sanction was still upheld in France, in England the bishops were compelled to take an oath, by which they almost renounced their allegiance to the Supreme Pontiff [1], and in most countries the kings constantly interfered with the appointments of prelates and imposed ever new and increasing burdens and tithes upon church property. Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, taught by jurists of his day, had not a little desire of being the sole emperor and pope in his territories ; he had often this ideal of absolutism on his lips, treated the bishops and the abbots in the most arbitrary manner and disposed of the church properties as if they had been his own [2].

When, in the year 1500, king John of Denmark, was preparing to wage war against the rebel duke of Dithmarschen, he and some of his grandees, inclined to the Bohemian sect, divided among themselves the most lucrative church dignities

1. Bibl. Vatic. Lat. Cod. 3884, fo 21vo.

2. Pierre Froissart, ap. J. Janssen, Gesch. des Deutschen Volkes, 9te Aufl., Bd. I, s. 500, 501.

and monasteries of the kingdom, with the intention of taking possession of them after the expected victory. They gloried in being greeted as Abbot of Soró, Prior of Antvordskow, Dean, Provost, Archdeacon or Chantre of Roskilde. It happened, however, that they were defeated, and the King, who was in the rear, escaped with difficulty. " Never before did, in any war, fall such a number of abbots, priors, deans, provosts, archdeacons, chantres and canons, as in this battle of Ditmarschen [3] ".

Pope Alexander VI, aware of the danger of all those attacks upon the liberty of the Church, that is, upon common justice and the rights of religion, courageously opposed himself to them, whenever any particular occasion was offered. Hardly had he ascended the papal throne, when, on the 22d of October, 1492, he wrote the following severe brief to John de Honthem [4], chancellor and high judge of Brabant, in Belgium : " Beloved Son etc. We have learned as well through frequent complaints of our treasury court as through the testimonies of others that you, who boast of the titles of jurist and knight, neglect the duties of your profession and the salvation of your soul ; and that, in contempt of the science of law which you arrogate to yourself, you pretend to summon before your tribunal ecclesiastics, servants of God, to inquire into cases and rights, no matter how ecclesiastical and sacred they are, and to impair the privileges even of ecclesiastics that reside at the Roman court, as also those granted by the Apostolic See to the scholars and teachers of the University of Louvain. We have learned that, lifting up your head against Heaven, you fear not to assail and challenge Us and the court of Rome, day after day, and to rashly and petulantly show your insolence towards things divine, also

3. Chronicon Skibyense, ap. Langebeck, Scriptores Rerum Danic., t. II, p. 561.—The author sees in that fact a precursory sign of coming Protestantism.

4. de Gonthein.

to deprive ecclesiastical jurisdiction of its vigor, and to prevent and disturb the taking cognizance of its lawsuits and their appeal to Us. You are not ashamed of scandalously persecuting in divers ways, by your rashness, the Church of God and the Apostolic See, to the ignominy of your catholic princes, while you pretend and decree that the properties and rights of the same Church and of her ministers ought to be burdened and confiscated by means of secular taxes and levies, and used as if they were profane goods ; to the greatest danger of your soul and of the souls of your accomplices. Although divine justice commonly punishes such crimes more severely and more swiftly than usual, We, however, as men, letting mildness precede rigor, and, as a father, taking pity, this time, on your error, We strictly command you, in virtue of holy obedience, under the threat of God's judgment and under pain of excommunication " latae sententiae " and of everlasting infamy, to cass altogether, annul and revoke, as soon as you shall have seen these present letters, the procedures, sentences and orders of any kind, that you have made, pronounced, granted or transacted at your tribunal, against the Church and all ecclesiastical persons whatever, and in regard to their possessions and goods, to declare them all null and invalid, as they are, and to restore all causes to their pristine condition ; finally, to refrain henceforth from all similar proceedings and to do penance for the offences thus committed and perpetrated. Otherwise you will soon understand, after mildness is set aside, that ' it is hard for thee to kick against the goad ' " [5].

The Pope also issued a brief to John Carondelet [6], grand chancellor of Austria, Burgundy, etc. He had heard, he said, that in the States of Archduke Philip ecclesiastic men were summoned before lay tribunals, and there examined in regard

5. Act. Apost. IX, 5. See Document 113.

6. Coronderet.

to their properties and those of the Church. How much such proceedings were opposed to all justice was no secret to him, who was an adept in both ecclesiastical and civil law, he added. The Pontiff was astonished that he, who boasted also of wearing the belt of a knight and was in a position to defend the interests of the Church, did not do it, when approaching old age and after experiencing the favors of the Holy See towards him and his friends. We, therefore, he continued, require and admonish you not to offend against the jurisdiction of the Apostolic See, nor to allow inferior judges to destroy it, but to early retract and order corrected by others all that has been attempted against it. As it is not allowed to judge another man's servant, and not becoming for you or for them to touch the anointed of the Lord, all power upon whom has been taken away from you and from them ; be on your guard not to provoke the anger of God and the indignation of the Holy See, but rather to deserve the good will of both, by abolishing those abuses [7].

At the same time the Pontiff wrote to de Honthem's accomplices, assessors to the high court of Brabant, protesting against their contempt of the authority of the Apostolic See and their confusion of all right divine and human, by giving their votes to the usurpation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the violation of clergymen's privileges sworn to by them, and the profanation of possessions and rights of the servants of God. He orders them also, under pain of excommunication, to retract and annul their unjust decrees and to abstain in the future from all similar proceedings [8].

He also issued a brief of the same date to the Estates of the nobility and of the citizens of Brabant, to warn them

7. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Armar., 53, no. 18, f° 151 ; Bibl. Vatic. Lat., Cod. 3881, f° 304vo ; Paris, Archiv. Nation. L. 389. An. 1492.

8. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Armar. 53, no. 18, f° 151 ; Bibl. Vatic. Lat. Cod. 3881, f° 305 ; Paris, Arch. Nation. L. 389. An. 1492.

against any projects injurious to the rights of the Church, that might be brought before their legislative body [9].

On the same 22d of October, the Pontiff wrote to the lord-bishop of Liege. He told him that he had heard of the subversion of ecclesiastical right in the lands of archduke Maximilian and of his son, the archduke, Philip, especially in the duchy of Brabant. He wondered that the bishop, who, being on the spot, could not be ignorant of the facts, did not defend the Church or, if unable to do so, did not inform him long ago, and appeared to be indifferent or consenting to the evil. He strictly commanded him, under threat of suspension from religious functions and prohibition of entering the church, to do his duty in the future and, in particular, should the chancellor of Brabant not fulfill the papal orders, to publish him in all the churches of his diocese, as having incurred the censures of the Church and to be shunned by the faithful, until he should actually have fulfilled those orders [10].

The Pope equally expressed to the abbots of Parc [11] and of Affligem his bitter surprise at their neglect of opposing and even of reporting to him the assaults made in the duchy of Brabant on the jurisdiction and rights of the Church. He commanded them, under pain of excommunication, to sustain those rights, their own, he says, before the archduke Philip, his counsellors and tribunals, with whom they are in familiar intercourse. He promised them the help of the bishops of Liege and of Cambrai, to whom he had written ; but, in case that those prelates should neglect to perform their specified duty, the abbots themselves must, without their or any one else's permission, execute in the churches and monasteries of their Order, the orders given in the briefs, of which a copy was herewith enclosed [12].

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9. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Armar. 53, no. 18, f° 152.
10. See Document 114.
11. Parcen.
12. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Armar. 53, no. 18, f° 150vo ; Bibl.

Neither was pope Alexander VI satisfied with thus rebuking and threatening the perpetrators of the evil and their apparent abettors, but he also wrote at the same time to the princes, who might give them authoritative orders to cease and amend their unjust proceedings.

He sent a brief to archduke Maximilian, in which he declared his confidence that the prince would never of his own accord issue any decree adverse to the honor of the Apostolic See and to the liberty of the Church. But he feared that others, following their own inclinations and caring not for the salvation of their souls, might try to persuade him and actually obtain such decrees from him. He, therefore, put him on his guard against them, and promised, in return, to be liberal towards all his wishes [13].

To the archduke Philip he wrote how he had heard from many trustworthy witnesses that the authority of the Apostolic See was held in contempt in his dominions, especially in the duchy of Brabant. He did not blame the prince for it, he says, but thought that, because of his youth, he did not notice how injurious it all was to his conscience and his honor. He, therefore, as a preceptor in his tender age, exhorts him to serve and fear God, to venerate him in his ministers, and not to allow the authority of the Holy See and the jurisdiction of the Vicar of Christ to be violated by his subjects ; but, if anything of the kind has been committed under his name, to order it revoked and amended. He adds that, in both sacred and profane history, he will not easily find one who acted differently and enjoyed a happy reign, while his courtiers can tell him of the successes of his ancestors, as long as they had followed that just policy. He concludes by saying : Do thou, therefore, learn, while young, to govern so as to please the Prince of earthly kings, who has made thee

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Vatic. Lat. Cod. 3881, f° 304 ; Paris, Arch. Nation., L. 389, an. 1492.

13. See Document 115.

a prince ; that thou mayest not become one of those princes who have fallen before attaining old age [14].

So active was pope Alexander VI and so deeply interested in the preservation of the jurisdiction of the Church and of the corresponding ecclesiastical immunity, that, although he had abundantly done his duty by the foregoing letters, he still issued four more briefs, on the same 22d of October, to persons whom he considered apt to exercise a useful influence on the two princes.

To Engelbert, count of Nassau [15], he wrote as follows: As it is reported to Us in various complaints, John de Honthem, chancellor in the duchy of Brabant, grievously persecutes the Church of God, while he pretends that her jurisdiction is almost nul, when day after day he summons before his tribunal ecclesiastics, servants of Christ ; imposes secular taxes, collections and burdens on them, confiscates their goods and possessions to the temporal treasury, forbids appeals of ecclesiastical causes to be made to Us, etc. and is not ashamed of blaming and calumniating Us and our court, privately and publicly. We, therefore, exhort and require you, who are among the first with Maximilian, the illustrious king of the Romans and his first-born, the archduke Philip, and have much power with them, to work for their honor and salvation, to repress the said chancellor and all such like him, and to respect the Church as your ancestors have done. Thus you will do a thing worthy of you, that will bring greater prosperity to your princes and to yourself, and will earn our greater favors and those of the Apostolic See [16].

The Pontiff sent a similar writing to Albert, duke of Saxony, to whom Maximilian had confided the tutelage of his son,

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14. See Document 116.
15. de Nassoubs, de Nassow.
16. Bibl. Vatic. Lat., Cod. 3881, f° 305 ; Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Armar., 53, no. 18, f° 151vo ; Paris, Archiv. Nation., L. 389, An. 1492.

the archduke Philip, and the government of his lands, and who had the right of carrying an imperial sword, the emblem of justice [17].

In the same way he also wrote to John de Bergis [18], lord of Waleyn, a knight, one of the principal courtiers of archduke Philip, upon whose father's house the Apostolic See had bestowed important favors [19].

Finally, Francis de Buysleyde [20], provost of Liege, received a brief, dated the 22d of October, by which the Pope reproved him for not defending the Church, although he was the instructor of the young archduke and continually assisted at the counsels of his princes ; and even for not informing the Holy See of the attacks made against ecclesiastical rights and jurisdiction. He finished by stating that it was the provost's duty to teach his princely pupil to fear God and to honor Him in his ministers, to protect the rights of the Apostolic See and to pay due respect to the Church [21].

Pope Alexander VI issued all those rebukes, threats, admonitions and requests, after receiving the various reports and complaints of numerous witnesses ; Raynaldi [22] admits the violation of ecclesiastical liberty in Belgium, and Pastor [23] states that, although the clergy was inactive at the encroachment on their privileges and immunities, the Pontiff opposed it in the most determined manner.

There is no reason, indeed, to believe that the Pope had acted upon false or insufficient information. Yet, there exists in the National Archives of Paris [24] a copy of a pretended

17. Bibl. Vatic. Lat., Cod. 3881, f° 303vo ; Archiv. Secret. Vat., ubi supra ; Paris, Archiv. Nation., ubi supra.

18. van den Bergen.

19. Bibl. Vatic. Lat., Cod. 3881, f° 305vo ; Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Armar., 53. no. 18, f° 152 ; Paris, ubi supra.

20. de Busleyden.

21. Bibl. Vatic. Lat., Cod. 3881, f° 304 ; Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Armar. 53, no. 18, f° 150vo ; Paris, ubi supra.

22. Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1492, no. XXXV.

23. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 477, after Cauchie, Mission aux Archives Vaticanes, pp. 18-23.

24. L. 389, an. 1492.

answer of the " duke Philip to the Most Holy Father, " the former part of which is a flat denial of every imputation, an assertion of all possible respect for the Church and a counter accusation of the Pontiff, as believing every suggestion and condemning without hearing. The latter portion is a still more unbecoming reply to pope Alexander's polite and friendly brief to the archduke : Our conscience is right in that matter, he says, and we consider as innocent our chancellor of Brabant and all whom Your Holiness seems to blame. If you so treat your friends, what shall You do against rebels? and he finishes with an oath, calling on the Almighty as his witness.

Such a style of a letter is too undiplomatic, impolite and uncouth to proceed from the chancery of any prince to the Supreme Head of the Church. It should be noted, moreover, that no record of this epistle is to be found outside of the Parisian Archives, where it is reported as " copied from a Liege manuscript of Mr. de Crasia, " and, therefore, from an unreliable source. If this letter was perhaps composed by a friend of the bishop or of the provost of Liege, it would indicate, at least, the successful result of the Pontiff's efforts.

Solicitous about the immunity of the clergy from civil tribunals, pope Alexander VI took special care that strict justice should be rendered by ecclesiastical courts to all and especially to princes, who had recourse to him.

Peter, archbishop of Colotza, had visited with excommunication and interdict certain subjects of Lawrence, duke of Wylack, whom the Pope, when still a cardinal, had known unfavorably. The duke pretended that the archbishop had acted from hatred against him, and he requested the Pontiff to annul the sentence. Pope Alexander appointed, on October 21st, 1493, two special judges : the bishop of Erlau and the archdeacon of the cathedral of Agram, ordering them to hear

both parties, to pronounce a just judgment, which should be final, and to enforce it with the censures of the Church [25].

It seems that the men of the duke of Wylack had again invaded the monastery of Peterwardein, which now was united with the See of Colotza and other possessions of that diocese; for the archbishop complained, soon after, in Rome, of being robbed by noblemen of so many of his dependencies and revenues, that it was impossible for him to place his objections fast enough before the Roman court; and he requested a general provision against all such injustices. On the 31st of October, 1494, the Pope named the archbishops of Gran, of Grosswardein and of Agram as " Conservatores " [26] of the archbishop of Colotza, who should, either together or apart, whenever called upon by him, determine, without appeal, all difficulties between him and the thieving princes, communities or even ecclesiastical dignitaries, and execute their awards with the imposition of ecclesiastical censures ; or, if need be, by invoking the arm of the temporal power [27].

Although a zealous defender of the exemption of the clergy from civil tribunals, the Pontiff did not allow this privilege to become an abuse. The kings of Spain had complained to him of some clerics, who, admitted to the tonsure only and wearing no clerical garb, were leading a life of criminal laymen and defrauded justice, while, relying on the indulgence of ecclesiastical judges, they refused to appear before the tribunals of the kingdom. The Pope decided, on the 27th of July, 1493, that, in the future, such evildoers, who had received the tonsure only and were devoid of benefices, could lawfully be arrested, examined and punished by secular courts, if, at

25. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. II. Lib. IV, Regest. 870, f° 32.

26. That means Protectors against evident injustices, invested with the authority of regular judges.

27. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I, II, III. Lib. III, Regest. 869, r° 232.

the time of their offense and during the four previous months, they had not worn the tonsure and a decent clerical costume [28]

When king Ferdinand of Spain and queen Elizabeth represented to pope Alexander VI that some clerics, even of religious Orders or dignitaries of the Church, relying on the leniency of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and knowing that they could not be arraigned before a royal tribunal, would sometimes conspire against their government and cause great damage and evil, the Pope established, on the 26th of June, 1493, for all such possible cases a special tribunal, from whose sentences there would be no appeal. He, namely, appointed the archbishop of Messina and the bishop of Avila, charging them to proceed against all clerics of any condition or dignity, even against archbishops and bishops, who might be accused of conspiracy against the person or State of the king or queen of Spain ; and, if they should find any one, below the rank of a bishop, to be guilty, to punish him according to the formalities of the law. In case of a bishop or an archbishop being found guilty, they should forward to Rome a report of all proceedings and information, so that the Pontiff and the cardinals might carefully consider the case and impose a condign punishment for the crime [29].

The Pope held no less to the exemption of all church property from the impositions of secular tailles and taxes, but was not unwilling to make to temporal princes the concession of part of the ecclesiastical revenues for the benefit of religion. Thus, after the conquest of Granada, he gave to the kings of Spain and to other local lords a right to collect two-thirds of the tithes from the Moriscos that would be converted to the Christian faith, on the condition that these princes should, at their own expense, build and furnish churches

28. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Secret. An. I, II, III. Lib. III. Regest. 869, f° 137.

29. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I, II, III. Lib. III, Regest. 869, f° 83vo.

wherever they should be needed. On the 15th of July, 1501, he granted them the other one-third, in consideration of their excessive expenses in fulfilling their part of the agreement [30].

He conferred upon the same monarchs all the tithes of the newly discovered West Indies, on the 16th of November, 1501. This gift was, however, at the time, but an apology for a compensation of the heavy burdens placed upon them. They were, indeed, to procure not only the buildings and equipment for divine service, but also an endowment of all churches, sufficient to cover the yearly expenses of religious functions and of a decent living of the incumbents, besides the taxes to be paid to their bishops, as it was stipulated by the bull of concession[31].

He, likewise, on May 9th, 1502, granted to the Catholic kings a portion of the tithes in all their dominions, as a contribution towards their intended crusade against the Mohammedans of Africa [32].

Without some special good reason he never diverted any ecclesiastical revenue from its legal destination. King Ferdinand could not, in the year 1497, obtain from him the surrender of the incomes of churches during their vacancy, although he claimed them as a right of custom, which he had enjoyed until some ten years before [33].

When, however, a claim seemed to be established on constant custom for many years, the Pontiff did not refuse to observe it, as appears from an act of his, of the 26th of July, 1493, when, at the complaint of the same King, he named three bishops to examine the alleged customary rights of certain lay persons of Gallicia to part of the revenue of

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30. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I ad XI. Lib. V, Regest. 871, fiis, 3vo 247.

31. Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages y Descubrimientos, II, 454.

32. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I ad XI. Lib. V, Regest. 871, f° 253.

33. Çurita, Hist. del Rey don Hernando, Lib. III. Cap. 15, f° 135vo.

benefices, the nomination to which they had the privilege to make, ordering his commissioners to confirm that right, if they found it to exist [34].

Not only did pope Alexander VI respect justice in regard to prebends and revenues of benefices, but he was even liberal, under certain circumstances, in granting the right to appoint to church benefices and dignities. Thus did he, on the 27th of July, 1493, allow the kings of Spain, for a space of three months, to fill the ecclesiastical vacancies of their kingdom with clerics agreeable to them, in consideration of the material help afforded by them towards the conversion of the Agarenes in the province of Granada [35]. So also was gratitude for considerable services rendered by Emmanuel, king of Portugal, the reason why pope Alexander VI bestowed upon him the prerogative of conferring a canonry or another dignity in each of the cathedrals or collegiate churches of his kingdom, as he did on the 24th of May, 1496 [36].

The concession of such privileges is all the more remarkable, as the Pope was very solicitous about the conservation of his natural right to dispose of ecclesiastical dignities, especially of such as were called " de curia, " or given by himself. The bishop of Ferrara, de Roverella, had died in the year 1496, and the duke of that city, Ercole d'Este, applied to Rome at once for the miter in favor of his son, cardinal Hypolite. But the Pope had resolved to confer it upon his nephew, cardinal Giovanni de Borgia. The duke claimed that the bishop should be a person agreeable to him, while the Pontiff alleged his supreme authority. Ercole, moreover, embittered the difficulty by laying hand on the income of the diocese. Thereupon, the Pope placed Ferrara under interdict

34. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Copia di Brevi e Bolle di Aless. VI riguardanti la Spagna, f° 61.

35. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I, II, III. Lib. III. Regest. 869, f° 116.

36. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I ad XI. Lib. VII, Regest. 873, f° 189.

and the clergy of the cathedral and of other churches stopped all divine service and burials, from the 6th of September till the 12th of June of the following year. Finally, the duke gave up his pretensions, cardinal de Borgia took possession of the diocese and the interdict was lifted [37].

Alexander, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, having the privilege of presenting candidates for all vacant benefices and dignities of the city and diocese of Wilna, undertook to prevent Albert, its bishop, from appointing any not recommended by him. Since he was favorable, however, in other important religious concerns, the Pope considered it prudent not to proceed to open hostilities on that account, but wrote to him. on the 28th of April, 1501, a most earnest admonition, in which he exposed to him the wrong of his pretension, his want of due respect towards his bishop and the injury he was doing to the Church. He requested him, for the sake of his duty and of his soul's salvation, and in consideration of the Pontiff himself, to give henceforth to the worthy prelate full liberty in appointing able and useful men to all benefices of his diocese, when they would become vacant [38].

Shortly after, on the 23d of the following month of June, the Pope granted, at the request of the same Grand Duke, a most extraordinary permission to Albert, the bishop of Wilna, and to all his clergy. The diocese was inhabited by Tartars, Armenians, Schismatics and sectarians of all kinds, who not only were unwilling to pay the usual tithes, but pillaged the churches, robbed the bishop and the beneficiaries of their possessions and revenues, even mutilated and murdered some clergymen and laughed at the prelate's ecclesiastical censures. To stop those evils and to protect his

37. Frizzi, Memorie per la Storia di Ferrara, vol. IV, p. 181, refer to Zamb., Diar., and to others. Cfr. Domen. Malipiero, Annal., Venet. in Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, p. 483.

38. Theiner, Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuan., t. II, p. 282, ex. Reg. Orig. An. IX. T. XXI, f° 51.

temporal domain, the Duke allowed and recommended to the bishop the right of civil power and of the sword ; but as the exercise of this right was strictly forbidden by canon law to all ecclesiastics, the Duke had recourse to the Sovereign Pontiff, to obtain for them the required authorization, which was actually given, together with the dispensation from the consequent censure of irregularity [39].

Pope Alexander VI courageously upheld pontifical authority and Church immunities in the republic of Venice. According to Sanuto, the ambassador Paolo Cappello reported, at the end of his mission in Rome, in the year 1500, that the Seigniory was hated at the papal court, because of its conferring benefices ; and, in fact, the ambassador had his portfolios full of letters of recommendation for benefices. Yet, it appears that the hostile envoy had not succeeded according to the wishes of his principals, for he related how the Pope had rejected several venetian candidates and had bestowed the canonry of Leonard Anselmo on his datary, a Ferrarese and a bitter enemy of Venice. Capello concluded his report, quite naturally, by saying that all benefices were for sale in Rome, although he added that the Pontiff declared himself to be poor [40].

The Senate of Venice requested the Pope, on the 13th of August, 1502, for allowance to judge, with the intervention of its patriarch, a priest, Francis de Azalibus, directly subject to the Holy See, and for the same favor in all similar cases, " quoties ", but the Pontiff granted the petition for the present case only [41] ; and, after a fortnight of further consideration, he gave orders, in spite of the Venetian ambassador, that the

39. Ibid., p. 293 ; Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. VIII ad XI, t. II. Regest. 868, f° 51.

40. Albèri, Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti, ser. II, t. III, p 7.

41. Villari, Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, Disp. 73, vol. I, p. 89.

priest should be judged by the patriarch alone, without the intervention of any secular magistrate [42].

The Seigniory had destined the vacant diocese of Capodistria for Don Luca Viario and charged its ambassador, Giustinian, with securing the nomination. But, on the 22d of March, 1503, the ambassador " found His Holiness not to be very favorable to this. He said that he had already disposed of that diocese ". Giustinian wanted to know in whose favor ; " but the Pontiff deigned to give him only this answer : It is enough that it be for one of yours ". Giustinian insisted for the favorite of the Seigniory, " but the Pope was resolved to say no more : neither yes nor no. " The diocese was bestowed on Bartholomew Assonica, a citizen of Bergamo [43].

From a dispatch of the same ambassador it is evident how earnest pope Alexander was in regard to the rights and jurisdiction of the Church. Giustinian wrote to Venice, on the 16th of April, 1503, that the Pope had been incensed at the action of the Senate in trying to have cardinal Michiel come and finish his days in his native city, simply for the purpose of laying hand on his riches, as they had done at the demise of cardinal Baptista Zeno, and adds that his indignation had been increased by a number of stupidities [44] written to him by the bishop of Tivoli, for instance, that a law had been enacted to the effect that no ecclesiastical cause could be settled in Rome any longer, but only in Venice [45].

After the death of cardinal Giovanni Michiel, Venice wanted the Pope to confer the diocese of Verona upon a man who had deserved well of the Republic, also to unite the abbey of Sesto with the hospital of Saint Anthony, and to give to the cardinal of Gran another abbey possessed by the late cardinal.

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42. Ibid., Disp. 89, p. 103.
43. Ibid., Disp. 325, p. 442-443, and footn.
44. " Mille bestialità, " the dispatch says : yet, probably, true facts, but disgraceful, to Venice.
45. Ibid., Disp. 353, p. 480-481 and footn.

" But, " Giustinian wrote, on the 18th, " the Pontiff is not too well disposed to grant the wishes of the Republic ; he says : The more We honor them, and the more they seek to aggravate Us, by showing little respect for our dignity and the ecclesiastical liberties; because We have been notified of late that a new order has been given to judge there all ecclesiastical cases and that none shall come to Rome any more " [46].

On the 23d, the ambassador went to ask the confirmation of cardinal Marco Cornaro's Venetian nomination for the diocese of Verona, and of the reunion of the abbey of Sesto with the hospital of Saint Anthony, and of another abbey with the hospice " della Pietà ". The Pope granted the first request, but refused the two others [47].

In his letter of the 10th of May, 1503, Giustinian further relates that the Pontiff complained before the Consistory of the refusal of the Seigniory to give possession of the abbey of the Holy Ghost to the cardinal of Cosenza ; and, taking back his former consent, he directed the cardinals not to vote for the promotion of Cardinal Cornaro to the diocese of Verona, before Venice should have given possession to all the cardinals, to whom had been granted benefices or abbeys which had belonged to cardinal Michiel. Thereupon, cardinal Grimani desired to speak in favor of the Seigniory, but the Pope imposed silence on him, saying that he knew what he had to tell, and that he did not want his vote on this matter [48].

Just at the end of his reign pope Alexander curbed the ambition of the Venetian republic to replace the Roman Pontiff in conferring benefices and dignities in its dominions. Its ambassador presented himself before him, on the 24th of May, 1503, to demand the nomination of the cardinal of Gran as patriarch of Constantinople and as abbot of one of the monasteries left by the deceased cardinal Michiel. The

46. Ibid., Disp. 356, p. 482.
47. Ibid., Disp. 361, p. 488.
48. Ibid., Disp. 378, vol. II, p. 11-12.

Pope answered all his requests by saying : " Ambassador, it is not necessary to apologize much with you, because you know what We could do in this matter, after having given away the things that your Seigniory now asks, as We told you before. You will, please, excuse Us with the Most Illustrious Seigniory and tell them that another time We will try to give them satisfaction; but We could not now, even if We wished, because after the favors are once given, they are no longer at our disposal [49].

Pope Alexander VI consulted the Sacred College in making promotions to abbeys and dioceses, he allowed the bishops their ancient privileges and often granted them special faculties to confer all the benefices of their dioceses ; but, aware of his rights, he did not tolerate the interference of temporal power or lay people with the bestowal of ecclesiastical preferments. Some writers pretend that Cesar de Borgia dominated the Pontiff, and, as Captain of the Church, he necessarily exercised considerable authority in temporal affairs ; yet, when the ambassador Giustinian requested him, in the name of the Venetians, to try and obtain a benefice for one of their favorites, Cesar expressed to him his regrets, that the Seigniory had thought of employing him in a matter in which, he said, he would less readily interpose than in any other ; as it was an ecclesiastical matter of benefices, which the Pope had largely if not altogether decided already. " Lord ambassador ", he added, " the principal reason why I do not interfere with benefices is, that the Pontiff wants to dispose of them in his own way ; and in regard to them I have little authority with him. Therefore, I do not speak of them, not to incur the disgrace of His Holiness " [50].

In France,there was still in existence, although repealed by king Louis XI, the Pragmatic Sanction, an edict issued in the

49. Ibid., Disp. 394, p. 21.

50. Villari, Disp., vol. I, p. 484.

year 1438 by Charles VII and the States of Bourges, which was very derogatory to the Head, the authority and the liberties of the Catholic Church. Pope Alexander VI was, as his predecessors had been, disposed to have it abrogated, and he negotiated to this effect with king Louis XII [51].

He earned only the merits of these unsuccessful efforts, but he did not surrender the jurisdiction of the Church, when the same Louis XII demanded from him the deposition and punishment of ecclesiastics that had, on the occasion of his conquest of Milan, violated their oath of loyalty to him. The Pope claimed from the victorious potentate, although he needed his help for the submission of his own States, the right of those clergymen to be judged first by an ecclesiastical court. As if to comply with an humble request of the French king, he issued a bull, on the 23d of August, 1500, for the establishment of a special tribunal, to examine and sentence the culprits, as he had done for the kings of Spain, who complained of ecclesiastics conspiring against them. He, indeed, ordered the French cardinal, George d'Amboise, to call before him all prelates and other members of the clergy, accused of swearing fidelity to king Louis, as against the duke of Milan, Lodovico Sforza, who had fled from the duchy, and of afterwards calling him back ; and thus causing a renewal of all the evils of war. If the cardinal should find the accusations to be true, he should proceed with papal authority to deprive them of their dignities, and of monasteries yielding less than two hundred florins of income, and replace them with other incumbents. Should, however, the accused be bishops or archbishops, or be in possession of monasteries usually conferred in consistory, then he must make a report of the proceedings and send it to Rome under his seal, so that the

51. Bullar. Roman., Leonis X. Constitutio XX.

Pontiff with the cardinals may, after mature deliberation, inflict punishment according to deserts [52].

By a bull of the 26th of September, 1500, the Pope gave to cardinal d'Amboise the power of subdelegating as judges in these cases, honest and prudent ecclesiastical dignitaries of a good and timorous conscience [53].

In the consistory of the 26th of February, 1503, letters were read by which Louis XII demanded the immediate deposition of Octavian Sforza, bishop of Lodi, because of rebellion against him. The Pope became angry, the Venetian ambassador says, and spoke disrespectfully of the King. No wonder—after he had granted him a French judge to decide on cases of that kind [54].

At the same consistory appeared a German envoy, Pre Luca, to propose a league between the Pope, the king of the Romans, Spain and Venice ; and to request the moneys of the crusade offerings, because Maximilian offered himself, when in union with the said Powers, to lead a strong army against the Turks. The proposal secured him the ready consent of the cardinals. He, finally, asked the recall of cardinal Pérault as Pontifical legate to Germany, saying that he was most odious to His Majesty and to all the German people ; but on this question the consistory took no resolution whatever [55].

Not only did pope Alexander VI bravely uphold the rights of the Church against the temporal powers, but he also made use of his judiciary authority to defend and protect the weaker members of the clergy. Thus, in the beginning of his reign, on the occasion of the solemn obeisance of the City of Siena, he listened to the plea of the Cistercian monks of Sora, des-

52. See Document 117.
53. Paris, Archiv. Nation. Cod. j. 506. No. 11 : Original.
54. Villari, Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, Disp. 294, vol. I, p. 402.
55. Ibid., p. 403. Cod. B. B. B. I. 13 : Porcii Comment.

poiled of their property by the powerful bishop of Roskilde, and ordered the prelate to submit to the decision of the Sacred Rota, to whose tribunal he referred the case [56].

On the 5th of July, 1493, he ordered the Grand Chanter of St. Honoré of Paris to publish from the church pulpits the papal command, that all Christians were obliged to reveal where were hidden the documents, valuables and all properties stolen from the Benedictine convent of Montmartre ; and that, should they not fulfill the order, within a definite time, they would have incurred the penalty of excommunication from the Church [57].

On the 20th of March, 1494, he commanded the bishop of Nona, in Croatia, to hear all parties interested and to do justice to the Franciscan friars, who had complained to him of being robbed, by the count and the dowager countess de Srigena and others, of both real estate and of moveable property, given as alms for the repair and support of the monastery. He directed him to render a final sentence and to enforce it with ecclesiastical censures [58].

Pope Alexander VI imposed on the bishop of Capaccio, on the 19th of September, 1497, to publicly admonish the miscreants who had robbed the abbey of St. Denis near Paris, to restore the stolen goods within a certain time ; or else, that they would be subject to the ban of excommunication [59].

He also appointed, on the 25th of January, 1497, the bishop of Freisingen, in Bavaria, and two dignitaries, to decide in favor of the monastery of Paelberg, the right of receiving donations from the faithful of their parochial church, which

56. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. B. B. B. I. 13 : Hier. Porcii Comment.

57. Paris, Archives Nation., L. 327, no. 2.

58. Farlato, Illyricum Sacrum, t. IV, p. 224.

59. Paris, Archives Nation., L. 327, no. 6.

a certain Caspar For and other clerics had ventured to contest [60].

In fact, it can be said that the Pontiff was frequently compelled to interfere for the protection of German lower clergymen and religious, who had but him as their only refuge from the barbarity they had to suffer at the hands of an ignoble nobility, as attested by Wimpheling [61] and Berthold von Henneberg, archbishop of Mayence [62].

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60. Munich, Reichsarch. Regesta, 1497, I.

61. Munich, Staatsbibl. Cod. Lat. 26615.

62. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I ad X. Lib. VII. Regest. 873, fo 180vo.

CHAPTER VII.

Savonarola.

ARTICLE I. — SUCCESSES OF SAVONAROLA.

As we have noticed, pope Alexander VI gave many evidences of zeal to preserve the integrity of religious doctrine, to foster the unity of the Church and to uphold ecclesiastical discipline and right. The principal facts of the history of Jerome Savonarola evidently demonstrate that it was the same eagerness which compelled the Pontiff to proceed against the famous Dominican monk and the administration of Florence.

Jerome Savonarola was born at Ferrara in the year 1452 [1]. According to the contemporary Fra Benedetto, O. P. [2], he requested, at the age of nineteen years, the hand of a Strozzi maiden ; but was refused and commenced a life of retirement. During the following year he wrote his first poem : " The world's Ruin ", in which he takes a one-sided, pessimistic view of his time, insisting on the moral ravages of the Renaissance of pagan ideas and vices. At the age of twenty-two years, he was so deeply affected by a sermon, that he secretly ran away from home to the convent of the Dominican Fathers of Bologna, where he was admitted as a novice [3]. While he was in his novitiate he wrote, in the darkest colors, an ode, corresponding to his former poem, on the Ruin of the Church, wherein he administers, however, to himself the advice to weep and yet to keep silent, " Tu piangi et tacci, è questo meglio parmi ".

1. Cappelli, in Atti e Memorie delle R. R. deputazioni di Storia patria per le provincie Modenesi e Parmesi, vol. IV, p. 306.

2. In Archiv. Storico Italiano, Append., vol. VII.

3. Villari, Girolamo Savonarola, vol. I. Doc. IV.

All his biographers and historians generally agree in testifying that, from the beginning of his religious life, Savonarola was a model of strict observance of all the regulations of his Order, and his obedience to his superiors was punctual, at least until he became a prior of the convent of San Marco in Florence. He expressed his regret at the mitigations granted by the Holy See. Corio [4] had heard that he led a life more austere than was required by the rules and customs of his monastery, and soon enjoyed the reputation of a holy man. It is no wonder, therefore, if, only seven years after his entry as a novice, he was appointed master of novices in Bologna and afterwards in Florence. In the year 1481, he was sent to preach in Ferrara and in Florence, but had so little success that it required the command of his superiors not to give up this ministry [5]. He appeared during the following years in the pulpits of several localities in the neighborhood of Florence.

It was in one of these missions, in San Gemignano near Siena, that he enounced the first time these three famous propositions : 1st, The Church shall be scourged. 2d, And afterwards renovated. 3d, And this shall happen soon. He did not, however, make these assertions as from a special revelation, but only as conclusions from his application of the laws of divine Providence to the moral corruption of the time [6]. It was but in the year 1489, that, in his sermons at Florence, he declared these statements to be actual prophecies, and made at the command of God [7]. His pretensions to the dignity of a prophet called forth at once the rebukes of the Augustinian preacher, Mariano of Gennazano [8], while doubts and discussions arose among the Florentine people,

4. Storia di Milano, vol. 3, p. 678.
5. Cappelli, ubi supra.
6. Lucas, Fra Girolamo Savonarola, p. 15.
7. Archiv. Vatic., Varia Politicorum, XLVII, fo 338vo.
8. Ibid., fo 339.

many of whom blamed him for his credulity in false and foolish visions [9].

Yet, his growing eloquence,his fearless attacks on vice and abuses wherever he found them to exist, and his earnest appeals to works of penance in order to avoid the calamities with which he threatened the city, multiplied the number of his hearers and the confidence of his partisans, the Frateschi and Piagnoni or Mourners. After a short time the moral appearance of Florence was changed ; many notable conversions took place, vices of all kinds discontinued or hid themselves, fasting and mortifications were generally practised, piety increased and the convents of either sex, principally that of San Marco, were filling up with novices and postulants. Savonarola took special care of the children, and formed them into a police to guard morality in their own homes and on the streets of the city. He was, with their co-operation, enabled to imitate St. Bernardine of Siena in building his " pyramids of vanity " or bonfires of immoral books and pictures, of articles of vain personal adornment, of daggers and all tools and devices of revenge and of gambling, that had been gathered from house to house, mostly by his bands of children.

While Savonarola was combatting public corruption, he was also, through his example and his influence on the novices under his charge, stimulating stricter religious observance in the convent of San Marco. In July of the year 1491, he was unanimously chosen Prior of this community and he set to work at once to reform it according to the original rule of St. Dominic ; thus making the house of Florence an exception among those of the Dominican Congregation of Lombardy. He, undoubtedly, had none but the best intentions in making the improvement, but was he not disagreeable to the Vicar

9. Burlamachi, p. 28.

General of that province, the Blessed Sebastian Maggi, or de Madiis, by doing so without the authority that belonged to him, or to the Master General of the Order ?

However that may be, the success and durability of the reform were insecure as long as the Prior would have a superior who might interfere with his work or remove him from Florence to any other house of the Congregation. Savonarola was not a man to give up his project under any consideration ; and, as we may judge from the sequel, he was animated with a spirit of pride that had become impatient of any higher authority, as soon as he had reached the local mastership of the Priory of San Marco. We know that he was soon involved in quarrels with his provincial superiors [10]. He wanted to be separated from a religious body that he described as being corrupt [11], although it was governed by a man who deserved to be afterwards placed on the catalogue of the Blessed. The monks of San Marco were, therefore, directed by him to prepare a suitable petition to pope Alexander VI, while he secured the assistance of the Florentine Seigniory and of Piero de' Medici, and enlisted in his favor the cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, the Superior General, Joachim Turriano, and the Protector of the Dominican Order, Cardinal Caraffa.

The negotiations were not, however, conducted with sufficient secrecy, and there arose a strong opposition on the part of the Congregation of Lombardy, of the Duke of Milan and of other Italian princes. Savonarola dispatched to Rome two of his friars, Alexander Rinucci and Dominic da Pescia, to personally promote the cause, but they easily noticed at their arrival, that there was but little chance of success. The request was laid before the Consistory of the 22d of May,

10. Wadding, Annal. Min., vol. XV, p. 163.

11. Lucas, Girol. Savonarola, p. 94.

1493, but the Pope refused to sign any brief. Burlamachi [12] tells us that cardinal Oliver Caraffa, after the Consistory was over, presented to the Pontiff a brief of Separation, prepared beforehand, and as pope Alexander VI, with whom he was familiar, demurred to sign it, he took the ring from the Pope's finger and affixed it to the document. But briefs were not signed in that manner. The fact is that the Pontiff, although greatly impressed by Savonarola's plea for reform and stricter religious observance, had his doubts about the advisability of the extraordinary concession ; but he was importuned by cardinal Caraffa till he finally issued the letter granting the Prior's wishes of administrative independence. He declared that the Community of San Marco was forever withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the superior of the Lombard Congregation, and placed under the immediate authority of the General of the Order, to whom it should belong to confirm the yearly election of the Prior of the Florentine convent [13].

It will be noted that pope Alexander VI did not establish San Marco into a Dominican Congregation by itself, nor did he concede to Savonarola the title of a Vicar general ; but, on the 15th of the following month of November, Turriano, the Superior General, granted to the Prior the delegated faculties of a Provincial, and the Pope allowed, in August, 1494, the community of St. Dominic in Fiesole to be severed from the Lombard province and to be united with the convent of San Marco; he, likewise, subjected to the latter the house of St. Dominic in Prato, and after a few months, the monastery of St. Catherine in Pisa. The new community of Santa Maria on the Rock in Bibbiena completed the number of houses constituting the reformed congregation of San Marco [14], of which Savonarola was elected Vicar, on the 28th of

12. ap. Lucas, Girol. Savonarola, p. 97.
13. Villari, Savon. Vol. I. p. XL.
14. Marchese adds the convent of St. Mary Magdalen in Pian di Mugnone, and Perrens the one of San Romano in Lucca.

May, 1495, and confirmed for the space of two years by the General of the Order.

The brief of separation from the province of Lombardy and the subsequent union of other convents with that of San Marco are evident tokens of special good will of pope Alexander VI towards Savonarola and of his confidence in him. On the 28th of December, 1494, the Pope was confirmed in these friendly dispositions by a letter of the Florentine Seigniory, in which the Friar's praises were loudly proclaimed. Savonarola had been ordered either by his superior, Joachim Turriano, or by the Pope himself, to preach the Lent of the following year in the city of Lucca. In Florence there was, at the time, violent opposition to the popular government, just then introduced according to Savonarola's directions, so that the officials considered it prudent to provide the city hall with men and arms [15]. The Seigniory needed the Friar's help to maintain the new Constitution, and they wrote to the Pontiff, requesting him to revoke the former command and forbid Savonarola leaving the city [16].

Pope Alexander VI easily consented to their petition and ordered the Prior of San Marco to stay in Florence till the octave of the coming Easter [17].

The Pontiff had probably, to the end of the year 1494, received none but the most favorable information regarding the successful preacher and zealous reformer, who had scarcely then entered upon his political career and had not yet commenced to make the enemies that would shortly thereafter denounce him to the Apostolic See. Pope Alexander may have heard of the occasional flings which Savonarola took at the pretended corruption of the papal court, but these were

15. Giornale Storico degli Archivi Toscani, in Archiv. Storico Ital. Vol. VI, p. 122 ; Cappelli, in Atti e Memorie... Modenesi etc. T. IV, p. 337.

16. See Document 120.

17. Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 65.

not so violent as they afterwards grew to be, and the Pope easily overlooked all blame of his own person as long as it did not affect the Catholic doctrine or the authority of the Church.

The Friar had until then, like every other pulpit orator, inculcated conversion from sin and practice of virtue; but his method and argumenrs were of a novel and extraordinary nature. Not satisfied with being an ordinary preacher, he set up himself as an inspired prophet of old, chosen by Almighty God to publish the divine chastisements that would soon befall the whole Church [18]. To flatter the vanity of his hearers, he proclaimed that, " whereas Florence "—not Rome—" is placed in the midst of Italy, like a heart in the midst of a man's body, God had designed to make choice of her, to the intent that from her, as from a center, this prophetic announcement should be spread abroad through all Italy " [19]. In testimony of the truth of his presumption, he offered the Blessed Virgin Mary herself, who, on the occasion of an embassy which he undertook to Heaven, to ask her intercession for the people of Florence, said to him : " They are sinners and have by their wickedness deserved all manner of evils, especially by reason of so many who will not believe what for some years past you have predicted [20]. Savonarola publicly announced that he knew the future through divine revelation [21], and insisted on the infallible certainty of his prophecies. On one occasion, while holding up the Blessed Sacrament in his fingers, before a great multitude, he impiously called upon God to work a miracle and strike him dead right there, if his words were not divinely inspired. This was a daring, impious challenge of God's power, but well calculated to deceive an ignorant and credulous people. The predictions, which he had made as from himself in

18. Compend. Revelationum, ap. Lucas, Girol. Savonarola, p. 50.

19. Ibid., p. 53.

20. Ibid., p. 61.

21. Commines, Mémoires, Liv. VIII. Ch. II. p. 88 : Disoit publiquement par révélation.

San Gemignano, that, namely, the Church would be scourged and renovated before long, had afterwards become his fundamental divine revelation; but his prophecies became little by little more particularized. The political unrest of Italy, the efforts made by the exiled nobility of Naples and by Ludovico il Moro, regent of the duchy of Milan, to induce Charles VIII, king of France, to enter Italy and conquer the Neapolitan kingdom, procured for Savonarola an opportunity to prophesy the dire calamities, which several others, in particular St. Bernardine of Feltre, had foreseen and foretold from reasonable conjectures [22]. It was in the year 1494 [23], at the time that preparations were being made in France for the Neapolitan invasion, that Savonarola announced, as from divine revelation, the incursion of foreigners across the Alps, into Italy, and declared the immoral Charles VIII to be the Cyrus of old, led by God himself to chastize the people of Italy and Rome in particular.

In regard to Florence, he had heard the Blessed Virgin tell him, at his visionary embassy to Heaven, that the city should become more glorious, more powerful and wealthy than she had ever been; that whatever she might lose would be restored to her, together with fresh acquisitions ; but woe to her rebellious subjects, those of Pisa, for they would be severely punished. And all this was to take place " cito et velociter ", soon and speedily [24]. Now, history tells us that, indeed, in the winter of 1494 to 1495, King Charles VIII marched in triumph all through Italy into the city of Naples, but was compelled the next spring to save himself by returning to his own kingdom, after having caused even more moral than

22. Petri Delphini Epistolarum Vol. 4. Epist. 19, Petro Barotio, Fpo Paduano : Providisti jampridem, providerunt alii multi ex conjecturis rationabilibus futura calamitosa haec tempora... De Bernardino Feltrensi bene actum non dubito, ut, praeventus, morte, visurus non sit aut auditurus quae et ipse fore vaticinatus est mala... Florentiae, Die VI Nov.. 1494.

23. Lucas, Girol. Savon., p. 116

24. Ibid., p. 62, 63.

material harm. Thanks to the courage and prudence of pope Alexander VI, Rome had little or nothing to suffer, while Florence, that saved herself, in the year 1494, from pillage and ruin by the payment of a heavy ransom, continued to suffer from pestilence, famine and war for a long time, and did not recover its rebel Pisa before 1509.

The renovation of the Church, one of Savonarola's most important prophecies, was the object of the daily cares and steady work of pope Alexander VI, while Charles VIII, announced as the divinely chosen reformer, did not attempt to take any step whatever in that direction, but brought with his army a plague of vice into Italy.

The false prophet's other solemn promise, the conversion of the Turks or Infidels, is awaiting its accomplishment still.

It will be noticed also that the scourges threatened by his prophecies formed the main sanction of his moral discourses. Of the commandments of God and of His perfections, of the pains of hell due to vice and of the eternal reward of virtue : which are the usual themes of Catholic preachers, Savonarola had little to say. The avoidance of temporal afflictions, social and individual, was the principal object of his extraordinary sermons.

Towards the end of the year 1494, he neglected almost entirely all topics purely spiritual. He still mentioned a simple and penitential life, the good life ; but his eloquence was devoted to the defence of his prophecies and to the social interests of Florence. He wanted the former rulers, the Medici, to be banished forever, and their administration replaced by the government of the good people, whom he directed to proclaim Christ as King of the Republic. He disavowed all participation in politics and was satisfied with simply being God's prophet and the people's adviser, and he zealously filled this office, by asserting every one of his

political advices to be given in God's name, " in verbo Domini ", and to be God's will.

For a while, his schemes met with a complete success. Nothing was undertaken without his opinion, and the most prominent citizens went to consult him at dark in the convent of San Marco[25]. His most important political victory was the opposition of the Florentines to the Holy League, a league of nearly all the Italian powers, headed by pope Alexander VI, against King Charles VIII, immediately after his conquest of Naples. He preached that the French monarch would remain victorious as he had been until then and that he would certainly reform the Church. The people believed him, because he was a man of a holy life, Manfredi adds, in his letter of May 18th, 1495, to the duke of Ferrara. To the great detriment of Florence [26], Savonarola kept the Republic allied with France and at war with its Italian neighbors.

ARTICLE II. — SAVONAROLA DISOBEDIENT TO THE POPE.

The Friars's full sway was not, however, without opposition. Few of the clergy had ever believed in his prophetic mission, and the hostile passage of the French through the territory and city of Florence had considerably shaken the confidence of many among the laity, who now commenced to consider him as an impostor. This adverse feeling was, moreover, greatly enhanced by the Minor Observantine, Francesco da Ponzo, who was also drawing great crowds of hearers [27]. But it was his political activity that caused him the greatest number of enemies. The " Palleschi ", friends and former officials of the Medici, the wealthier class of

25. Corio, Storia di Milano, t 3, p. 679.
26. Petri Delphini Epistolarum vol. IV. Epist. XLIII : Florentiae Die XI. Julii, 1495.
27. Cappelli, in Atti e Memorie. Vol. IV, p. 344.

people, were, naturally, his antagonists, and the " Arrabiati ", the younger and unruly population, deserved their nickname by their violent hatred against the " Frateschi ", or adherents to the Friars, and the " Piagnoni ". Savonarola himself thought his life to be in danger and would venture on the streets no more without the protection of a chosen body-guard. The whole city was torn up by hostile factions and Manfredi justly remarked that it would be found necessary to stop either Savonarola or Francesco da Ponzo from preaching, if they did not discontinue to speak of matters of State and of city government. On the 21st of May, 1495, the same Ferrarese ambassador wrote to his Master that several people wanted to leave Florence ; whether for fear of the French king or of some revolution in the disunited city, he knew not [28].

At the end of the year 1494 and in the beginning of 1495, the elections turned out in favor of the Friar's party, and his political measures were adopted ; but, in their impotence at home, his enemies had recourse to the Roman court, in order to break his power. They denounced his pretended visions and revelations, his attacks on the higher clergy and his neglect of Catholic doctrine for civil and political concerns. From the correspondence of Castiglione and Somenzi, Milanese ambassadors in Florence, with Ludovico il Moro, we may readily suppose that also this prince and others exposed before the Supreme Pontiff his manner of preaching and his influential opposition to the Holy League [29].

The Pontiff was astonished at all these complaints, but imagined that a word from him would be sufficient to remove their occasion. " The first Brief of the Pope to Savonarola arrived in Florence on the 18th of March, 1495, as appears from a Summary of Letters, that, in substance, say : " How a

28. Cappelli, in Atti e Memorie, vol. IV, p. 404.

29. Manfredi, to the Duke of Ferrara, July the 8th, 1495 ; Cappelli in Atti e Memorie... Moden. e Parm. Vol. IV, p. 405.

pontifical cavalier was sent to serve on fray Jerome a prohibition to preach, but was not allowed to deliver his errand ". Savonarola was privately apprised of the message ; and when publicly preaching, he said that, when the Pontiff should suspend him even from saying Mass, as he expected him to do, because of the treatment offered to his envoy, he would not be obliged to obey, because the interdiction would be of no value, since Alexander VI was no true Pope " [30]. Savonarola rewarded his protectors by continuing to strenuously defend from his pulpit their, or rather his own, political schemes, and by assailing in ever more unreserved terms the Pontiff and his court.

Although not officially advised, the Friar should have abstained from preaching. As a Christian, a priest and a regular monk, he was obliged to obey the Sovereign Pontiff, who, without objecting to his political opinions as of a free citizen, had the right at least to forbid him to abuse the pulpit by treating of secular affairs, and especially by combatting the political endeavors of his highest superior.

To his prophecies and visions is clearly applicable the rule of Eusebius Amort [31], who says that " doubtful revelations, if they bring with them the danger of causing dissensions in the Church, must be prohibited by public authority ".

Moreover, not to speak of the scandal which he gave by wantonly overloading with villainous insults the Cardinals, the whole Roman court and indirectly the Pope himself, Savonarola set forth, in the course of his intemperate language, several rash and untrue propositions, that caused no less than fifteen of his sermons to be placed on the Tridentine Index of Forbidden Books. Pope Alexander VI was not only authorized, but in duty bound to forbid such preaching.

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30. Cappelli, Ibid., p. 312, 361.
31. De Revelationibus, Visionibus et Apparitionibus privatis Regulae tutae, p. 270.

The Friar was evidently wrong when assuming immunity from ecclesiastical discipline, and pretending to be his own supreme master, on the false plea that pope Alexander VI was no true Pope. We may incidentally remark here that Alexander VI was, beyond all doubt, a legitimate and true Pope. We have sufficiently refuted the slander of his simoniacal election; but, even though he should have been made a Pope through simony, he would have been a Supreme Pontiff nevertheless. The Constitution of his successor, Julius II, that makes null and void a simoniacal papal election was not published yet, and was repealed of late by Pope Pius X, in order to remove all occasion of schism [32].

Seeing from the treatment of his envoy, how the Friar had already emboldened his friends, the rulers of Florence, to openly espouse his cause as their own and, as practical schismatics, to frustrate the pontifical orders, the Pope concluded that a policy of prudent leniency was more advisable than one of strict right and justice. He, therefore, wrote, on the 21st of July, a second brief to Savonarola, which the Milanese ambassador, blaming the Pontiff, called " assai piacevole, " very complaisant [33].

The friendly tone was probably influenced by a letter, which, as we see from the brief, the Friar had lately written to pope Alexander, to protest his holy intentions, report the admirable success of his preaching, by which he had won the laws that formed the new Constitution of Florence, and thus, indirectly, to excuse his disobedience.

The Pope wrote to him :

Beloved Son, Health and Apostolic Benediction. We have heard from the reports of many that among the laborers in the vineyard of the Lord you work the hardest, and we greatly

32. Codex Juris Canon. Docum. I. Tit. II. Cap. VI, n. 79.

33. Atti e Memorie... Moden. e Parm. Vol. IV, p. 405.

rejoice and give thanks to God for it. We doubt not that, with the help of the divine Spirit, who distributes his grace among men, you are able to sow the seed of the divine word among the Christian people and to bring fruit a hundred fold. As We have learned these last days from your letter, such is your intention, namely, to show by your sermons to the people that you know, what will best promote the service of God. It has also been related to Us by the people that you have afterwards said, in your public sermons, that you do not know from yourself or from human wisdom the future events which you announce ; but that you foretell them from divine revelation. Therefore, desirous, as it is a duty of our pastoral office, to speak with you on these matters and to hear them from your mouth, and thus to be better informed by you, and be able to judge what is pleasing to God ; We exhort and command you, therefore, in virtue of holy obedience, to come to Us as soon as possible. We shall receive you with paternal love and charity. Given in Rome at St. Peter's under the seal of the Fisherman the 21st day of July, 1495 [34].

No one will contradict the Pontiff, when he says that it is his duty, or at least his right, " nostro pastorali officio competit ", a right which belongs even to a bishop, to call any Catholic preacher and make him give an account of the doctrine he preaches ; especially in the case of Savonarola, who disturbed and tore asunder the whole community of Florence, by his pretension to divine revelations. Savonarola himself was the first to admit the pontifical claim. In his answer of the last of July, 1495, he not only recognizes pope Alexander VI as the true Pope, but acknowledges his duty to answer the summons. He finds excuses, however, to postpone or neglect this duty.

After reminding the Pontiff of the right granted by his

34. See Document 121.

predecessor, Alexander III, to offer reasonable excuses in case that one could not fulfill a papal command, he expresses the wish to see Rome and to venerate His Holiness in person. Yet, many reasons prevent him from performing at once a duty which he accepts most willingly and respectfully :

First, his health is so weak that the physicians and all others advise him to abstain from preaching and study and to use proper remedies, in order to avoid the danger of an early death.—Yet, only a few days before, Savonarola delivered a most violent discourse against the " Parlamento ", or universal right of suffrage in Florence ; and a trip abroad is generally regarded as a healthful vacation for men of a liberal profession.

Second, while he has saved the city from much bloodshed and other evils, and reduced her to harmony under holy laws, wicked people, both citizens and strangers, that thirst after human blood and want to enslave Florence, have become so incensed as to often try the effect of poison and sword against him, so that he cannot leave the convent without a strong escort.—Someone may suspect a whit of pride of the friar claiming for himself the credit of the city's concord and of the laws recently enacted ; but all will notice his self contradiction, when he states his need of a guard, to walk in safety the streets of Florence.

His third reason was not less pretentious : The city needed him to strengthen and consolidate its new constitution, feeble yet and liable to be overthrown by the worst kind of people. His departure would be to the greatest detriment of Florence, in the judgment of all prudent and good people,—thus intimating that the papal order was opposed to all prudence and wisdom.

It was, finally, quite useless to visit the Pope ; for he would shortly send him his booklet, the " Compendium Revelationum ", from which he could sufficiently learn all that he migh

wish to hear from the mouth of the Friar, who, moreover, was not allowed to make known, to any living man, the other revelations which he was to keep " in arca ", concealed in his heart.

Savonarola completed his reply by making some rash, bold assertions, as it were, conclusions from the objections set forth : He was convinced that the Pope would not take it ill, if he should postpone his visit for a short time, till he had finished his political work. Nay, he was certain that God caused those obstacles to his leaving Florence ; it was simply the will of God that he should not go to Rome at present.— In spite of the Pope's order.

He had printed his book, to convince the whole world by the fulfilment of his prophecies, that he was a true prophet.

He, at last, begs—commands—the Pope to accept his excuses and not to trouble him any more with orders that are beyond his power to accomplish, " non me supra vires ulterius gravet ", till he shall go to Rome from his own impulse. " Egomet mihi stimulus ero ". Is not this closing sentence a veiled, if not an open refusal to obey, as he actually refused to the last ?

In this sense, indeed, was the whole letter understood at the papal court. Yet, the Pontiff was patient and gave to Savonarola seven weeks time to come to a better state of mind and to perform his duty. On the 8th of September, 1495 [35], he wrote a third brief to the recalcitrant friar. It was directed to the Beloved Sons, the Prior and Community of San Marco in Florence. He abstained from giving any praises to the Friar, and to humiliate his arrogance, he desig-

35. Thuasne, Diar. Burchardi, t. II, p. 465, n. I ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 379 ; Lucas, Girol. Savon., p. 184, who says footn. 4. Ibid. : The chronology of the Documents has been settled beyond dispute by Gherardi, pp. 386, seqq.—Rinaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1479, no. XIX, places the brief at the 16th of October, 1497.

nated him as a certain Jerome Savonarola of Ferrara, who, he said, took delight in the novelty of perverse doctrine and, disturbed by the commotion of Italian affairs, was led to the insanity of saying before the people that he had a divine mission and was in converse with God ; without any canonical proof and, in spite of canon law, as any heretic might say—like Luther, a few years after—;but he ought to prove his extraordinary mission by working miracles or by a special testimony of Holy Scripture. Moreover, to declare that, if he lies, then Jesus crucified, God himself, lies—as Savonarola used to swear, with the Crucifix held forth in his hand—is a horrible mode of adjuration. It is false what he says, that anyone not believing his vain assertions is out of the way of salvation. Other no less foolish things that he does, says and writes, should not go unpunished, lest the temerity of false monks should know no bounds ; and there would be reason to fear that vice might enter the Church under the appearance of virtue.

We thought, the Pontiff continues, that by our long patience We would obtain that the Friar should recognize the folly, of his prophetic mission and turn to the path of solid truth, and that he would prudently and faithfully revoke his words, rashly and sinfully spoken, to the disturbance of the Church. We believed that, after some time, the day had come in which We might expect better from him and, through his humble submission, see changed into joy the grief that We have suffered at his unbridled arrogance and the scandalous separation from his Fathers of Lombardy, which, as We have learned afterwards, has been obtained by the cunning shrewdness of some wicked brethren. But, We are sorry to say, We have been disappointed in our hopes ; for, although We have ordered him, in virtue of obedience, to come to Us, he has not only refused to come and obey Us, but he has also caused Us greater sorrow by placing in print before the eyes of the

faithful the forbidden doctrines which he had rashly poured forth only into their ears.

After exposing these reasons, the Pope proceeds to action. While engaged himself with the affairs of Italy, he transfers the Friar's case to the judgment of Sebastian Maggi, the Vicar general of the Province of Lombardy [36], before whom Savonarola must appear, under pain of excommunication " latae sententiae ", wherever he may be summoned. He suspends Savonarola from all public preaching and teaching, during the discussion of the cause. To prevent all others from following Savonarola's bad example, he re-unites to the province of Lombardy the convents of San Marco in Florence and of St. Dominic in Fiesole ; commanding all their Fathers, under pain of excommunication " latae sententiae ", to obey and respect as their pastor the said Vicar of the Lombardy province. Finally, he orders, under threat of the same penalty, the three most intimate co-operators of Savonarola, the Fathers Dominic da Pescia, Thomas Bussino and Silvester Maruffi of Florence, to go, within nine days, to Bologna, to be assigned by the said Vicar to any of the houses of the Lombardy province ; outside, however, the Florentine territory [37].

On the following day, September the 9th, 1495, the Pope wrote to the Vicar, Sebastian Maggi, informing him of the re-incorporation of San Marco into his province, and imposing upon him the duty of judging the disobedient friar, according to the statutes of the Dominican Order [38].

Savonarola dated, on the 29th of September, 1495, a letter to the Pope, which was an attempted refutation of the apostolic brief, and clearly intimated his resolution of disobeying also in the future [39] ; but it is so excessively long, a real

36. A saintly monk, who was afterwards beatified.
37. See Document 123.
38. Lucas, Girol. Savon., p. 186.
39. Rome, Bibl. Barberini, Cod. XXXIII, 182, f° 376 and Cod. XXXIV, 5, f° 307vo.

booklet, that we could not afford the space to copy it. The reader may find it, misplaced, in Raynaldi [40], and Lucas [41] gives its substance with a few remarks. It is also in Burchard [42].

Let it be noticed that, in his answer, Savonarola still recognizes and respects Alexander VI as the Sovereign Pontiff and the Vicar of Christ on earth. He commences by saying that it will be easy for him to defend his doctrine, having thousands of witnesses, since he has taught in the Church whither all the Christians resort, and in secret has spoken nothing [43].—He had, however, written in secret, namely, on the 26th of May, 1495, to Charles VIII, who was then returning through Rome, and had told the King that he was certain, that among all other Christian princes, God had made choice of him—a corrupt layman—to carry out the renovation of the Church, and that now he must perform that duty to save his soul. " I remind you, " he wrote, " that it was God himself who enlightened me concerning your arrival in Italy... What I have written is as true as the Gospel " (!) [44].

He assures the Pope that he has often said and written that he submits to the Church of Rome himself and all that is his;—but when called to give an account of his doctrine, he refuses to go ; when blamed for his prophecies, he now declares his independence from the very Head of the Church, to which he pretends to submit.

He, further, denies saying that he was sent by God—Yet, he had often said that God commanded him to make known certain things ; and to say now that he had never claimed to be sent to preach by God alone, is an unworthy evasion.

He has never stated, he writes, that he conversed with God. He may not have spoken the words : " I converse with God ".

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40. Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1497, no. XX.
41. Ubi supra, p. 187, seqq.
42. Tome II, p. 466.
43. St. John, XVIII, 20.
44. Villari, Storia di Savon., vol. I, p. XCVI.

but, as an instance, he had, in one of his sermons, narrated in detail a long conversation, in which God had ordered him to give to the people of Florence a right system of government [45].

If, the Friar continues, I should have said so, I could not be punished, because there is not a word in H. Scripture nor in Canon or Civil law to forbid it ; nor could there be made a foolish and wicked law to forbid it, because God is free to converse with whomsoever he pleases, and to command him to proclaim : " So speaketh the Lord ", as said the prophets of old.—He does not see that ecclesiastical discipline would soon be subverted and new religions would spring up, if any friar were allowed to preach, without the approval of the Church, what he pretends to have heard from God.

After being thus acquainted with Savonarola's mode of reasoning, we see no usefulness and but little interest in further examining his pretentious answers to the Sovereign Pontiff, which generally consist of a subterfuge, a self-contradiction or a misleading explanation.

There is a possibility that the Friar was self-deceived or deluded ; but, objectively, his proud words and behavior were most reprehensible ; the Pope could not allow him to continue with impunity in his self-imposed prophetical mission. He had, therefore, taken a means which would effectually stop him, by simply undoing his own work, and uniting again the convent of San Marco with the Province of Lombardy ; thus re-establishing the Vicar, Sebastian Maggi, as superior of Savonarola and, consequently, the natural judge of his teachings and conduct. The Pope had evidently a right to undo his own doing ; yet, the Friar declared it an act of injustice, to which he refused to obey ; " impune non paremus Sanctitati Vestrae ". In fact, he disobeyed and led the community

45. In his 19th sermon on Aggeus : Lucas, Girol. Savon., p 188.

of San Marco to disobedience ; he would neither admit the re-union with the Lombardy Province, nor appear before Sebastian Maggi ; neither did the three Fathers, removed by the Pope himself, leave for Bologna.

After such a provoking letter from a rebellious monk, almost any Pope would have proceeded indignantly to more severe measures. But Savonarola had concluded his letter with words of profound respect and a renewed protestation, although fallacious, of submission of himself, his words and his writings to the judgment and correction of the Roman Church and of His Holiness ; and these finishing expressions of due reverence and humility seem to have made a favorable impression upon the heart of the Pontiff, who had not forgotten the former praiseworthy labors of a man, whose intentions he still charitably believed to be pure, but whose mode of preaching he could not conscientiously tolerate any longer. Already on the 16th of October, 1495, he wrote to Savonarola one more friendly brief, that Lucas [46], although as prejudiced as he can be against pope Alexander VI, calls : " just such a document as might have emanated from the holiest and most zealous of Popes ".

It was as follows :

Beloved son, Health and Apostolic Benediction. We have fully explained to you, by another brief how much We have been displeased at the disturbances, especially of the people of Florence ; all the more that they had their origin in your preaching.—The Franciscan, Domenico de Ponzo was preaching against the truthfulness of Savonarola's prophecies and many among the clergy and the laity rejected and denounced them with scorn.—Neglecting the extirpation of vice and the praises of virtue, you tried in your public sermons to foretell future events, and to declare that you knew them through the

46. Girol. Savon., p. 194.

eternal light of the Holy Ghost. Such and similar assertions are apt to make simple-minded persons deviate from the path of salvation and from obedience to the Holy Roman Church. You should rather have preached union and peace than what the common people call your prophecies and divinations. You ought to have considered also that the conditions of the time are strongly opposed to the doctrine that you hold forth and would be sufficient to cause discord even where the greatest peace would reign, how much the more where exist such grudges and factions.

The danger, therefore, of many souls, our desire of fostering peace among the people and the requirements of our pastoral office have determined Us to write to you, and after mature deliberation, We have felt obliged to call you to Us, so that you might clear yourself from the accusations made against you, which, should they be true, certainly ought not to go unpunished. But, since We have learned of late from some of our brethren, cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, and through your letters and messengers, that you are ready to submit all what you have said and done for the correction of the Holy Roman Church, as it is the duty of a good Christian and of a religious man ; We have been greatly rejoiced and have commenced to convince ourselves that you preached those things not from an evil disposition, but rather from a kind of simplicity and from zeal of progress in the vineyard of the Lord ; although experience teaches the contrary to be the fact.

But, that We may not seem to neglect such matters as can by no means be overlooked, We have resolved to write to you again, and, in answer to your letter, We command you, in virtue of holy obedience, that in the future you abstain from all preaching, public and private, so that you may not be accused of going to conventicles, after ceasing to preach in public ; and to behave altogether so until the time that you

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may come to our presence, comfortably and with that modesty which becomes a religious, and not with an escort of soldiers, as, We understand, you now go abroad; for We shall receive you with a joyful and fatherly heart; or until We may more ripely deliberate upon the course which you should follow in the future; or, if We see fit,We shall send to you some suitable and honest man. If you do, as We hope you will, We, from now on, suspend the briefs that We have written to you, with whatever clauses they contain, so that you may quietly attend to the affairs of your conscience. Given in Rome at St. Peter's the 16th of October, 1495 [47].

Thus was Savonarola freed, on easy terms, from the threat of excommunication and from the duty to appear before the tribunal of the Vicar Maggi, while the convents of San Marco and of St. Dominic of Fiesole were restored to his authority.

We cannot refrain from remarking here that Lucas [48] tries to revoke the praise which he had just given, by choosing the occasion of this merciful act of pope Alexander VI, to set forth an unwarranted bill of indictment against him, as if the Pontiff, and not Savonarola, were the culprit in the case; and by attributing, like all other apologists of the Friar, to politics, the whole course of the action of the Pope, who does not, however, so much as touch upon any temporal or political consideration in any of his proceedings against the rebellious monk.

The fourth papal Brief was delayed in transmission. Through a letter of the 26th of October, 1495, from Manfredi, the ambassador of Ferrara [49], we see that in that meantime Savonarola boldly assumed his reply to the Brief of the 8th of September, as sufficient to liberate him from the pontifical commands and restrictions contained in it; for he had preach-

47. See Document 124.
48. Girol. Savon., pp. 195, seq.
49. Cappelli, Atti e Memorie.. Moden. e Parm. Vol. IV, p. 364

ed the homilies of " these last days ", on the 11th, 18th and 25th of October [50], although he requested, besides the intervention of the Florentine Seigniory, the assistance of Ercole, the duke of Ferrara, in obtaining from the Pontiff the admission of his plea.

Whether it was to restore his health or to obey the Pope, Savonarola abstained from public preaching during the last months of the year 1495, but replaced himself, in the Cathedral of Florence, with Dominic da Pescia, his faithful interpreter, who preached the Advent of that year [51].

Pietro Delphini wrote from Florence, on the 7th of January, 1496, to the bishop of Padua that the reputation of Savonarola was assailed and lacerated by many of the common people, because of Pisa's victorious defection and the treachery of the French king ; but that the officials of the government, his followers, still believed in his prophecies and took his defence [52]. And so they actually did, by giving him an armed guard, and by repeatedly interceding for him with the Pope and cardinal Caraffa, to obtain again for him jurisdiction to preach. To this effect they wrote to Rome, on the 13th of November, 1495 [53], on the 17th of the same month and on the 5th of December [54] ; again, on the 28th of January and on the 5th of February, 1496 [55]. That, however, their insistence remained fruitless, that no " supposed verbal permission of the Pope " was given, is evident from the fact that on the 11th of March, 1496, the Pontiff complained of the allowance granted him by the Seigniory [56]. Indeed, the magistrates

50. Perrens, Jérome Savon., p. 157.
51. See Document, 125. Cappelli, ubi supra, p. 313.
52. See Document 125.
53. Villari, Storia di Savonarola, vol. I, p. CXIII.
54. Gherardi, Nuovi Docum. pp. 130, 132 ; Lucas, Girol. Savon., p. 198.
55. Ibid., Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, App. Vol. III, p. 146.
56. Gherardi, p. 137 ; Lucas, p. 203.

sent him, on that day, an invitation to preach the coming Lent in the cathedral of Florence [57].

Savonarola, who must have known that the faculty of preaching can be granted only by bishops in their dioceses and by the Sovereign Pontiff, not by lay people, renewed his disobedience to Spiritual authority in order to please the Temporal power. Already during the next carnival he preached, asserting that he did so with the Pope's assent, as Somenzi, the ambassador of Milan, wrote on February the 16th, while another Milanese envoy, Tranchedino, assured his Duke, on the 20th, that such was not the fact, that Savonarola had not received pontifical permission, as he seems to have said, but had taken permission from himself [58]. On the 17th of February he ascended the pulpit again. He introduced his discourse by asking whether the cause of his long silence was, that an excommunication had been sent from Rome, and he answered : " No, for even if such a writing had arrived, he has declared already that it would be of no value " [59]; and he added, according to a letter of the 18th of March, 1496, written by Somenzi, that " if the Pope should forbid him to celebrate Mass in Florence, such a prohibition would have no effect, since he was no true Pope " [60].

After having stated that " whoever does not obey the Catholic Church shall be damned ", he asks " what it is that constitutes that Church ", and answers that the opinions differ. He himself refers to " Christ and the Roman Church " [61] ; but, as appears from this and several other passages, with the exclusion of its Head, the Roman Pontiff. He further states that, " although convinced that the briefs received from Rome were null and void, he has, for prudence

57. Gherardi, p. 133 ; Lucas, p. 200.
58. Archivio Stor. Italiano, Nuov., ser., t. 18, P. 2, p. 9.
59. Villari, Storia di Savon., vol. I, p. 422.
60. Archiv. Storico Ital., ubi supra, p. 7.
61. Villari, ubi supra, p. 423.

sake abstained from preaching; but, seeing ", after only four months of silence, " that many good persons were growing cold and that the wicked were taking courage again, he had resolved to boldly come back to this pulpit " [62].

Such an introduction fitted well the sermons which he preached, in spite of the Pope, during the whole of Lent, and in which he was simply violent, particularly in regard to the court of Rome. On the second Sunday he abused the text of Amos [63] : " Hear this word, ye fat kine that are in the mountains of Samaria ", interpreting " the fat cows as the harlots of Italy and Rome. Is there not one in Italy and in Rome ? A thousand were few in Rome, then thousand were few, four times ten thousand were few, man and woman have become harlots there ". Continuing in that strain, he described the exaggerated vices of Rome, in words that could not be repeated to-day [64]. On the fourth Sunday, he thundered forth : " Prepare thyself, O Rome, for thy punishments shall be great. Thou shalt be encircled with iron, thou shalt be put to the sword, fire and flame shall devour thee. I will lead into thee the very worst of nations that can be found ; they shall humble thy princes and put an end to their pride, o Rome ; they shall take possession of thy sanctuaries and defile thy churches, because they were made into stalls for harlots. I shall make them into stalls for horses and styes for swine, for this shall be less displeasing to God than to turn them into stalls for harlots " [65]. At another time, during this Lent, he told his hearers that "God had placed them between the four winds, that is, between the prelates, the princes, the priests and the bad citizens. Flee from their vices ", he added, " gather yourselves in charity. O Sion, flee thou that dwellest with the daughter of Babylon [66], that

62. Id. ibid., p. 425.
63. IV, I.
64. Villari, ibid., p. 428.
65. Villari, ibid., pp. 429, 430
66. Zacharias, II, 7.

means : Flee from Rome, because Babylon signifies confusion, and Rome has confused the whole Scripture, has confused together all vices, has confused everything. Flee, therefore, from Rome and do penance " [67].

These effusions of a raving brain were undoubtedly reported to the Roman court ; and, although Villari constantly accuses pope Alexander VI of anger and wrath against Savonarola, we wonder how he could forbear so long his impudent assaults, and we cannot understand how some Roman prelates could still speak in his favor.

Meanwhile, the officers of the Florentine government were not satisfied with inviting him to preach, in spite of the pontifical prohibition, but they repeatedly continued to request the Pope to approve their schismatical action. Thus did the Ten of Liberty order, on the 9th of March and on the 12th, their ambassador, Richard Becchi, to persevere in his efforts with His Holiness to obtain for Savonarola permission to preach [68].

On the 11th, Becchi reports a new refusal, together with the Pontiff's displeasure at the action of the Ten, and his blame, as also that of the cardinals, for putting the government of Florence into the hands of a friar. Likewise, on the 18th, he advises the Ten to admonish Savonarola not to assail Rome ; for it ought to be enough for him, he remarks, that the Pope, against his will, tolerates him to preach [69].

The same ambassador wrote, on the 20th, that the Pontiff had refused to listen to four cardinals interceding for the Friar and, on the 24th, that he had refused to speak of him at all [70].

On the 30th of March, 1496, the Ten told Becchi not to ask

67. Villari, ibid., p. 431.
68. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I. App. Vol. VIII, p. 147.
69. Gherardi, p. 137, 138 ; Lucas, Girol. Savon., p. 203.
70. Gherardi, p. 139 ; Lucas, ibid., ubi supra.

permission any longer, as Lent was over [71]. They wrote, however, several times more to Rome in favor of Savonarola.

Pope Alexander VI would undoubtedly have applied stronger measures to silence the rebel monk, but he was afraid of worse consequences, possibly of overt schism of the Republic of Florence ; for two-thirds of the people still adhered to him and the government officials were in his favor. He, therefore, continued to temporize, using other means to convict him.

On the 30th of March, Becchi had understood that Savonarola's case was assigned to two cardinals and two bishops, and that Turriano, the Superior General of the Dominicans, had been charged to proceed juridically against him ; and, on the 5th of April, that a conference of fourteen Dominican theologians had been held for the consideration of his conduct, and that all, but a Master, Nicholas of Naples, and a young man, were of the opinion that some measure should be taken against him [72].

Burlamachi, that is an anonymous biographer of Savonarola, writes, about the year 1525, that the Pope, to win the Friar to obedience, offered him the dignity of a cardinal, and the chronicler Parenti speaks of the offer as of a matter of popular rumor. Villari [73] and Lucas [74], like a few others, accept the vague report as a fact ; although Lucas observes in a footnote, that " it is just possible that the whole story has grown out of Fra Girolamo's own words ", boastingly spoken, without any grounds but perhaps his own wish. Indeed, there is no document to establish that story, nor can any date be assigned to it. Wadding [75] writes that Bzovius gathers on this occasion several things unworthy of the serious pen of a Dominican, which do not deserve the belief

71. Gherardi, p. 142 ; Lucas, p. 204.
72. Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. . App. Vol. VIII, p. 152.
73. Soria di Savon., vol. I, p. 419.
74. Girol. Savon., p. 210.
75. Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 165.

of the meanest people ; that, namely, pope Alexander sent Louis of Ferrara, of the Order of Preachers and Master of the Apostolic Palace, to dispute with Savonarola and, should he be unable to conquer him, to offer him the sacred purple, in order to make him up his way of acting ; but the Friar disdained the profferred honors, he adds. He also asserts that Francis Piccolomini, Cardinal of Siena, after the Pope had fulminated his censures against brother Jerome, offered to the Friar his protection and defence, at the price of five thousand gold ducats. Bzovius's latter assertion especially is so evidently slanderous that Savonarola's apologists do not speak of it.

That there was no idea of an offer of the cardinalate, at the beginning of the year 1496, is evident from a letter of Pietro Delphini, in which no mention is made of it, but Savonarola is suspected of another ambition. Delphini writes from Florence to Peter Barrotius, bishop of Padua : " I have learned from you first, although not from you alone, that brother Jerome craves the archdiocese of Florence ; for, having, afterwards, made inquiries, I have heard from several that such has been the opinion in Florence. As for myself, I do not think so, because he is known to have, more than all others, assailed ambitious clerics and religious. He may be a lying prophet, he may be a hypocrite that simulates holiness, as he is suspected to be by a few here in Florence ; but every one, without exception, declares that he is no idiot..." [76].

Instead of enjoying the honors of the Roman purple, Savonarola had to bear the bitter complaints and attacks of a growing number of Florentine people, who considered themselves as having been deceived by his prophecies. Indeed, the Friar had promised prosperity and glory, and yet the city and republic of Florence were in a most pitiful condition.

76. See Document 125.

The public treasury had been drained by the constant wars with the rebel and victorious Pisa, the hopes of assistance from king Charles VIII, repeatedly foretold by the Friar, had vanished times and again ; while emperor Maximilian of Austria was descending upon Italy, to aid the Holy League in clearing the peninsula from the French. The city itself was torn by rival factions full of rancor and revenge, while famine decimated the poorer classes, and pestilence, finally, reduced the city to fright and despair [77]. The Florentine republic, says cardinal Piccolomini of Siena, in a letter of the 16th of May, 1496, to Berchtold, archbishop of Mainz, formerly so flourishing, is now shorn of its power, has lost its strength and its treasures and is completely exhausted [78]. The same distressing report is made by Nardi [79] and in " Atti e Memorie delle R. R. Deputationi di Storia Patria per le Provincie dell'Emilia " [80].

The loud recriminations of the people did not move Savonarola. He ascribed all these tribulations to the vices of the inhabitants, not sufficiently proscribed by those in power. He assured his hearers that the good things, which I have foretold, he said, shall be realized even to the smallest detail; but the wicked shall have their hell here and hereafter [81]. He still commanded them to remain faithful to his imaginary Reformer of the Church, to king Charles VIII; and the government of Florence continued to protect him. Pietro Delphini writes, on the 7th of July, 1496, that one of the citizens, who had publicly dared to speak against him, was arrested, severely tortured and heavily punished. It was forbidden to all preachers to announce the word of God, with the only excep-

77. Auct. passim.
78. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus, Hof u. Staatsarchiv, Cod. K. K. f° 31e.
79. Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 114.
80. Nuov., ser. vol. V. P. I, p. XXXV.
81. Villari, Stor. di Savon., vol. I, p. 484.

tion of Savonarola, who was holding forth either in the cathedral or in the palace [82].

Pope Alexander VI was deeply concerned by the attitude of the Florentine officials ; yet he courageously upheld against them the decision of his last brief ; that the Friar should remain silent, at least until he should have appeared before him. When he went to preaching publicly again, the Pontiff was compelled to take some further step, in order to uphold his supreme authority [83]. He did not, however, expel him from the Church, as he was generally expected to do, but contrived a new measure, against which, he trusted, Savonarola himself could find no objection.

By his brief, " Reformationi et augmento, " of the 7th of November, 1496, he established the Congregation of the Dominican friars of the Regular observance, corresponding to the Tusco-Roman-Province. He ordained that the Congregation shall consist of the Convents of S. Mary of the Oak, outside the walls of Viterbo ; of the Holy Ghost, in Siena ; of St. Catherine, in Pisa; of St. Sabina, Rome; also of St. Dominic, in San Gemignano : houses that were for some time united with the Province of Lombardy, but are herewith separated from it ; together with the convents of St. Mary Sopra Minerva, in Rome; of St. Mary, in Viterbo; of St. Dominic, in Perugia ; of St. Dominic, in Cortona ; of St. Agnes, in Monte Pulciano; of San Marco, in Florence; of St. Dominic, in Fiesole ; of St. Mary of the Rock, near Bibbiana ; as also of St. Dominic, in Prato ; of St. Roman, in Lucca ; and of St. Dominic, in Pistoia. All those houses shall be subject to the authority of the one Vicar of the Congregation, who is to be, for the two following years, Oliver Caraffa, the cardinal of Naples; and thereafter, every second year, another Vicar

82. Epistol. L. V. Epist. V.

83. Had Alexander overlooked the contumacy of the Friar, the continuance of the Papacy would have been impossible : Dublin Review, vol. CXVIII, p. 327, n.

shall be elected, according to the rules of the Order, and confirmed by the Master General. This Vicar, so elected, shall have all rights and duties of a Vicar provincial. No Vicar, however, can be continued in his office at the end of two years' incumbency, nor be elected again inside the two following years. In case of death of a Vicar in office, the Prior of St. Mary Sopra Minerva shall replace him ; yet it shall be his duty to call together, within six months, the Priors of the older houses of the Congregation to set a day for a new election.

We, moreover, the Pope continues, strictly command, in virtue of holy obedience, that all friars in any way belonging to the said houses, or who originate from the said Congregation of the Tusco-Roman province, return to it at once, without making any excuses. Nor shall any friar leave it without express permission of the Vicar himself. The Pontiff, furthermore, grants to the New Congregation all the spiritual and temporal privileges in any wise bestowed upon the Congregation of Lombardy. He, finally, forbids, under penalty of excommunication " latae sententiae ", any one of whatever rank or condition he may be, to contradict or attempt to oppose in any way, by himself of by others, these present pontifical letters [84].

This brief was sent, not to Savonarola alone, but to the Priors and Fathers of all the houses of the Tusco- Roman Congregation ; and offered to him an opportunity to re-enter in the path of duty, without hurting his pride. The Pope had, by this new institution met all the objections made against the re-union of San Marco with the Province of Lombardy ; he had favored the Friar's principles of reform by joining him and his convent to a Congregation whose aim was the more perfect observance of a regular life ; he had facilitated his

84. See Document 126.

submission by appointing as its Vicar provincial his friend and protector, cardinal Caraffa. It would be hard to imagine what milder means the most lenient of all Popes could have used to bring to obedience a monk, who, not only was in open revolt against the supreme authority, but had declared in advance null and void any censure that might be used to restrain him.

Savonarola had noticed, however, in the brief the appointment of a Vicar general over him and the possibility of losing what superiority he enjoyed in the convent of San Marco, although he was confirmed, a few days later, by his benevolent Superior General, Turriano, in his office of Prior [85]. Decided to be an independent superior, he wilfully incurred the threatened penalty of excommunication, by directing his friars to send a letter of remonstrance to the Pope, a few days after the reception of his brief; he himself, however, went on paying no further attention to the pontifical letter, and continuing to preach during the Advent of 1496, and the beginning of the following year, with the permission of the Seigniory of Florence, and in spite of the Pope. He even ridiculed the subsequent regulations of the Pontiff, by comparing them to the action of a chess player, who, when hard pressed in defending his King, moves from one square to another and then back again [86].

From the protest of the friars of San Marco pope Alexander VI could easily infer the obstinacy of their Prior. Yet, he commenced another period of patient waiting, in hopes that the example of the other convents or new circumstances would bring him and his subjects to better sentiments.

85. Lucas, Girol. Savon., p. 216.

86. His 1st sermon on Exodus. Until the last act of the drama, pope Alexander VI seems to have acted with singular moderation, and the changes, which Villari ("Life of Savonarola") ascribes to malevolent cunning, were clearly due to a real difficulty in taking stringent measures against a man for whose life and moral teaching he had considerable respect: Dublin Rev., vol. CXVIII, p. 327, n.

There was elected for the months of January and February of the year 1497 a Seigniory from among the Friars followers, with Francesco Valori, the most ardent of these, as Gonfaloniere ; but, in consequence of the violent agitation of the factions, Bernardo Nero, a respectable member of the " Palleschi " and by no means an adherent of Savonarola, was chosen Gonfaloniere, with the greater number of the Seigniory, for the months of March and April. The Ten of Peace, however, the friar's partisans, were not changed at the same time, and continued to write in his favor to Rome.

Savonarola had already, in his sermons of the preceding Advent, emphatically declared his resolution to follow his former ways and spoke with loud voice in praise of his political achievements [87]. Emboldened by the success of his friend, Valori, he uttered, during the Lent of 1497, the most violent denunciations of the exaggerated vices of the Roman court, which he assailed in scandalous language with the vilest epithets [88]. He seems to have been aware that his evil doings deserved his expulsion from the Church, for he publicly spoke of the coming excommunication : Let it come, he boasted, and I will answer it, I will make many faces grow pale here and there, I will send forth a voice that shall make the whole world quake and tremble [89]. He had, no doubt, conceived already his scheme of deposing pope Alexander VI by convoking a general council.

But the people of Florence grew tired of this continuous scolding, " stanco ed infastidito, " as Machiavelli says, as they were waiting for relief, in their exhausting wars with Pisa, from the oft-promised return of the king of France. Savonarola noticed the waning of their confidence in his prophecies. In his distress, he thought it wise to lend a helping hand to Divine Providence towards the fulfilment

87. Villari, Stor. di Savonarola, pp. 496, 497.

88. See ibid., vol. II, pp. 4, 5.

89. Ibid., p. 5.

of Its foretold decrees ; for, while in his public harangues he was announcing a renewed invasion of Italy by Charles VIII, he secretly wrote to him letter upon letter, threatening him with direst punishments of God, if he should not come back to accomplish his divine mission of reforming the Church with his sword. This he himself acknowledged to Comines [90]. To this same effect, he also wrote, on the 7th of March, 1497, to the duke of Ferrara saying : " Our friend ", king Charles, " is not rejected by God, but is deceived by his own advisers; we will see him yet do great things. I do not believe that it would be wrong to use some artifice, ' astutia ', with our adversaries, till God shall open his eyes. We would help the cause by reasoning with him. It would, furthermore, be good to help prudently, by sending some man of confidence, that might secretly speak to him and open his eyes. But this should be a religious and experienced man, who believes in these things ", that is, in my prophecies. " Do not speak of this to anyone, as I have not done here. But your faith has deserved to hear this secret of the Lord " [91].

Charles VIII tried to obtain from Florence all the money he could [92], but quietly remained at home. Finally, Savonarola himself became impatient. Giovanni Mariani, an envoy in Venice, wrote on the 6th of March, 1497 : We received news here that the Friar does not preach devotion to the king of France any longer, but preaches rather against him [93] ; upon which Somenzi, of Milan, remarked that it would make Savonarola lose his reputation as an inspired prophet. Neither did it accord with his prophecies that pest and famine

90. Phil. de Comines, Memoires, t. II. Lib. VIII. Ch. XIX, p. 191.

91. Atti e Mem... Moden... t. IV, p. 375.

92. Manfredi writing to Ferrara, ibid., p. 365.

93. Archiv. di Stato in Pisa, lettere alli Anziani, Filza III, f° 62, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital. ser. III, t. XIII, P. I, p. 183.

were steadily becoming more dreadful in Florence [94]. The suffering people took him for an impostor. On the 7th of March, Manfredi wrote to his master of Ferrara that Savonarola's adversaries were many and powerful, and were asserting themselves more and more and speaking against him in terms that could not be worse [95]. When Bernardo del Nero was elected Gonfaloniere for the months of March and April, 1497, the Milanese ambassador in Florence already foresaw the man's approaching ruin [96].

About this time Savonarola directed his brethren to forward to Rome a lengthy defence of their refusal to be united with the Tusco-Roman Congregation, the " Apologeticum Fratrum S. Marci ", of which he himself had written the introduction. It was a step from disdainful neglect to a motivated denial of obedience, probably occasioned by the turn of politics in Florence. But one cannot read these motives without being struck by the spirit of pride, that assumes the convent of San Marco to be replete with saints, who should not incur the danger of corruption by joining other communities, all consisting of bad religious. They say that relaxed monks cannot be brought back to fervor ; but was not San Marco a proof to the contrary, in their own conceit? They pretend that there can be no good government of the new Congregation, because the Sienese and especially the Pisan friars hate the Florentines ; and yet, only a short time ago, they had almost forced those hateful monasteries to submit to their domination. They must, they declare, resist the pontifical order, because it is opposed to charity ; but was it not against charity to refuse the assistance of their holy, though rebel, monks, in directing several houses that humbly begged for leaders in a life of

94. Ibid.; Petri Delphini, Epistolar. Lib. V. Epist. XXXIII.
95. Lucas, ubi supra, p. 225.
96. Villari, Stor. di Savon., t. II, p. XXV.

greater perfection [97] ? They conclude their apology with the daring words : We must not be frightened by threats of excommunication; when conscience rebels against a command of a superior, we must first resist and humbly correct him, which we have already done, but, if this is not enough, then we must act like St. Paul, who, in the presence of all, withstood Peter to his face [98].

97. A remark of Jo. Poggius Fiorentinus, printed in Rome and copied, in the year 1498, by Hartman Schedel : Munich, K. Staatsbibl. Cod. Lat. 962, f° 120.

98. Lucas, Girol. Savon., p. 219.

CHAPTER VIII.

Savonarola excommunicated.

ARTICLE I. — SAVONAROLA CALLS THE CENSURE INVALID ; THE SEIGNIORY DEFENDS HIM.

Such decided and provoking language conquered at last the patience of pope Alexander VI. He resolved to proceed to the severest of censures and to publish the major excommunication against Savonarola by name, as soon as circumstances in Florence would allow him any hope that his action would not occasion a formal schism of the Republic [1].

This hope arose before long. The election for the months of May and June brought forth a Seigniory composed of several members of the " Arrabiati, " a faction more hostile to the Friar than the " Palleschi, " with one of them, Piero degli Alberti, as Gonfaloniere of Justice, while the Eight of Peace were mostly opposed to him [2]. Their influence was soon felt; for, at a meeting of the 3d of May, it was decided to forbid him all preaching.

Savonarola had announced a sermon for the following day, the feast of the Ascension of Our Lord.

The " Archivio Storico Italiano " [3] reports a Summary of Letters written in Florence on the 4th of May, 1497, stating : " How the enemies of Fra Jerome have had a violent discussion with his friends, because they wanted him not to preach.

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1. Cfr. Nardi, Istor. di Firenze, vol. I, p. 141.
2. Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 120 ; Manfredi to the duke of Ferrara, ap. Cappelli in Atti e Memorie... Moden., t. IV, p. 378.
3. 1863, P. 2, p. 18.

" That many citizens, to avoid disturbance, have advised the Friar not to preach, but he was decided to preach by all means.

" That the night before, many young men, having opened a door of the cathedral, have besmeared the pulpit with tallow.

" That, in the midst of his sermon, the Friar said that he would preach in spite of those who were not willing to hear him; whereupon, many young men commenced to knock on the benches, and caused a tumult among the people.

" That, during the confusion, the Friar lifted up a little cross of brass and all his friends, about two hundred of them, held forth a red wooden cross, at the sight of which the people were struck with awe and took to flight.

" That the Friends of the Friar conducted him half way to San Marco, where another commotion having broken out, they sheltered him in a private house, and after some time, as there were no further consequences, they went with him to San Marco.

" That this incident has produced much contention in the city, and a hatred like that which once existed between Guelphs and Guibellines ".

Other contemporaries give more details of this kind.

Manfredi wrote, on the 6th of May [4], that excitement was running high and, but for the clemency of God, some great revolution would take place in Florence ; one party demands that Savonarola absent himself from the city for some months, and another is altogether unwilling to let him go. It might happen that, if he abstains from preaching, some means to compromise the difficulties might be found. " The Friar has to-day promised me to do so, " he added. Savonarola had at last found out that pope Alexander VI was right, when

4. Cappelli in Atti e Mem... Moden. Vol. IV, p. 378.

saying that he disturbed peace by his preaching. In fact, on the 20th of May, a resolution for his expulsion was laid before the Supreme Council, but it was lost by the failure of obtaining a two-thirds vote against him ; and the Friar remained in his convent of San Marco [5].

Seeing the obstinacy and audacity of Savonarola and of his friars, the cardinals Caraffa and Lopez and many other cardinals [6] confirmed the Pope in his resolve of fulminating his last censure.

The Brief " Cum Saepe " of Savonarola's excommunication was dated the 13th of May, 1497, but solemnly published in Florence only a month later, on the Sunday, 18th of June. An unofficial copy had, however, been handed to the Friar, who, struck by the final blow, wrote a letter to the Pope on the 22d of May, still trying to avert the effect of the brief [7]. He complains that the Pontiff listens to his accusers without allowing him a defense—which he refuses to offer, in spite of papal orders. He accuses his accusers, and protests his constant submission—rebellious as he is. He concludes by saying that he will confide in God, if human help fails him. It is a letter, indeed, by which he gave no sign of obedience, but wanted the Pope to obey him [8].

The papal brief was, for the greater surety of its publication, directed to the various monasteries of Florence, and was, indeed, solemnly read in the four principal churches of the city. It was as follows :

We have, the Pope says, often heard from a great many clergymen and seculars that a certain friar, Jerome Savonarola of Ferrara [9], said to be the Vicar of San Marco in Floren-

5. Villari, Stor. di Savon., t. II, p. 25.

6. Letter of Becchi to the Ten, dated the 19th of May, ap. Gheradi, p. 163.

7. Villari, Storia di Savon., vol. II, p. 26.

8. Cfr. Letter of Manfredi to the duke of Ferrara, dated Nov. 9 1497 : Cappelli in Atti e Memor... Moden. Vol. IV, p. 394.

9. An expression of rebuke, usual on such occasions.

ce [10], has spread certain dangerous doctrines, to the scandal and detriment of simple souls. In hopes that he would soon see his mistake, abandon his dangerous path and humbly return to Holy Church, We commanded him, in virtue of holy obedience, to come to Us and clear himself of certain errors laid to his charge. We hoped that he would observe our mandate to stop all preaching. But he was by no means willing to obey. We, treating him with greater mildness than perhaps the case demanded, We have borne with certain excuses [11] set forth ; and trusting to convert him by our clemency, We have tolerated his continuation in preaching. But, as We were disappointed by his obduracy, We, by a brief of the 7th of November, ordered him, in virtue of holy obedience and under pain of excommunication " latae sententiae " to be incurred by the very act of disobedience, to unite the convent of San Marco with a certain new Congregation, called the Roman and Tuscan Province, recently created by Us. This he did not do at all, and was not willing to obey our letter, giving no heed to the ecclesiastical censures, which he had incurred and in which through his damnable obstinacy he continuously becomes more implicated. Therefore, in order to provide for the salvation of souls, according to our pastoral duties [12], We command you, under pain of excommunication " latae sententiae, " to announce in your churches, on festive days, in presence of the people assembled, that the said friar Jerome is excommunicated and must be held

10. Since the institution of the Tusco-Roman Congregation he was its Prior only.

11. By his brief of the 16th of October, 1495 ; but the Pope never allowed him to continue preaching.

12. Fr. Bayonne and his compiler, H. de l'Epinois [Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXV, pp. 590, 591, footn. 1] intended to disgrace pope Alexander VI but disgraced themselves by supposing, in spite of all preceding and subsequent facts, the possibility of the excommunication being bought at the price of money. They rely, for their novel slander, on an anonymous manuscript discovered in the library of San Marco.

for such, because he has been disobedient to our apostolic warnings and mandates. We order you to admonish under threat of a like pain of excommunication, each and all of the clergy of whatever dignity, and the seculars of either sex, that they must absolutely avoid him as an excommunicated and suspected of heresy ; neither are they to speak or converse with him, nor listen to him whether in his preaching, which We have forbidden him, or in any other way, nor give him any favor or assistance whatever, nor visit the places or monasteries where he may reside... Given in Rome, the 13th of May, 1497 [13].

The publication of the brief seems to have made no impression upon Savonarola and his friars, for they all recklessly said Mass the following day [14] ; but it produced a decided effect on the other clergy of Florence, who refused to the inmates of San Marco any participation in the grand procession of St. John the Baptist, on the 24th of June [15].

A few days later, Savonarola announced his refusal to submit to the censure. In his arrogance, he usurped the office of a Pope, to write an encyclical to the whole Catholic world, " A tutti li Christiani e diletti di Dio. " He introduced himself as the " Servant of Christ Jesus, sent by Him " to make certain prophecies. He proposed the fact of his excommunication, which he had foretold long ago, as a proof of their truthfulness.

He declared the excommunication to be invalid, based, as, he said, it was upon false accusations, although the brief clearly expressed, as cause of the sentence, his manifest and continued disobedience. This disobedience he denied.—He had, indeed, obeyed when the Pope had granted the establishment of the Province of San Marco, with himself as its Vicar;

13. See Document 127.
14. Villari, Storia di Savon., vol. II, p. XLI.
15. Ibid., p. 31.

but he never since obeyed again, and declared all commands received from Rome as null and void. In particular, he attempted to prove that the order to join the Tusco-Roman Congregation was opposed to the honor of God and to the good of souls. In his pride he reiterated the assertion that his holy friars could not associate with the Dominican monks of the new Province, who were the worst men of the world, " li peggiori huomini del mondo. " This excommunication was therefore invalid. As to the maxim : " The sentence of a superior must be respected, whether it be just or unjust ", I have answered in a sermon, more than a year ago (!), he added [16].

He finished his circular letter with the intimation of some miracle to be performed by him, for the confusion of Christians who will not use their reason and contend against truth ; and he asked all the faithful to pray to God that this may happen ere long. He soon after wrote a second, a carefully prepared letter, to answer several questions, regarding the duty of observing ecclesiastical censures.

We could not report this very lengthy document, but it can be found in Quétif [17] and Raynaldi [18], and it is discussed by Lucas [19], who is forced to come to the conclusion that Savonarola's disobedience, especially to the decree of union with the Tusco-Roman Congregation, cannot be defended; all the less because, in rebelling against the Supreme Pontiff, he also refused to submit to the authority of Turriano, the Dominican Master General, and of cardinal Caraffa, his lawful Provincial Vicar. It was, moreover, a scandalous act of insubordination to apply to the faithful for a decision in his favor against the sentence of the Pope.

The learned and pious superior of the Camaldulites, Pietro

16. Quétif. Vita R. P. Fr. Hieronymi Savon., vol. II, pp. 185, seqq.
17. Ibid., pp. 190, seqq.
18. Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1497, nis XX-XXVII.
19. Girol. Savon., pp. 239-253.

Delphini, a contemporary writer of Florence and neighborhood, states [20] that he cannot see why Savonarola should be exempt from the excommunication pronounced against him. He also opposes the disobedient friar in a Dialogue on Pontifical authority [21].

The dastardly murder of the Pontiff's nephew and captain general of the Church, Giovanni de Borgia, duke of Gandia, offered the friar an occasion to write to pope Alexander VI a letter, pretendedly, of consolation; but, actually, of rebuke and self-defence [22], as appears from its text : " Faith, Most Holy Father, is the only true peace and consolation of the human heart... Blessed, therefore, is he who is called by Our Lord to this grace of faith, without which no one can enjoy peace... Let Your Holiness, then, respond to this call, and you will experience how quickly sadness is turned into joy... What I have heard and seen with my eyes and have touched, that I speak, for that I willingly suffer persecution, in order that I may gain Christ and avoid everlasting pains, knowing that it is horrible to fall into the hands of the living God. Let, therefore, Your Holiness help forward the work of faith, for which I continually labor even unto bonds ; and do not give ear to the impious ; and the Lord shall give you the oil of gladness for the spirit of grief. For the things that I have foretold are true. But, who resisteth God, and has had peace ? This, Holy Father, I humbly write to you [23], led by charity, desiring that Your Holiness be truly consoled in the Lord and be not deceived ; for, when his wrath shall be kindled in a short time, blessed are all they who shall trust in him... Florence, June the 25th, 1497. "

We consider this letter as an insolent answer to the publication of the excommunication.

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20. Epist. Lib. V. Ep. 37.
21. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1497, no. XXVIII.
22. Perrens, Jérome Savon., p 364.
23. For a wise man a word is enough.

The Ten of Florence had written to Rome at the first news of the coming brief, praying the Pope to recall it, as caused by false reports of the Friar's enemies ; but Bracci, their envoy, informed them, on the 27th of May, of the astonishment of the Pontiff, that they should think him capable of acting without sufficient grounds [24].

We may wonder how the administration of the Republic, generally opposed to Savonarola, could still write in his favor ; but some of the officials were still his friends and the others, taught by the friar's preaching, wanted the Pope not to interfere with what they pretended to be an affair of their own competency.

Pope Alexander VI had good reasons, indeed, for his action ; and yet Savonarola's letter of the 22d of May and the request received from the Ten affected him, and made him fear the possibility of some mistake or another on his part. He, therefore, ordered, towards the middle of June, the six cardinals of the Reform Commission, one of whom was the Friar's former friend, Oliverio Caraffa, to reconsider the whole case. Great expectations were conceived from this papal step, all the more because the Pontiff seemed to be more leniently disposed ; but it happened that the Commission fully justified the censure, and Bracci, moreover, reported to the Ten, on the 27th of that month, that the Pope was exasperated by the latest news of Savonarola's contempt of the decree of excommunication, manifested by his celebration of Holy Mass and the publication of his encyclical.

The silence imposed upon the Friar resulted in less violence of the factions and more strength of his own party, who entered into power again at the election for July and August.

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24. Gherardi, Nuovi Documenti, p. 164.

and, on the 1st of September, the government was wholly devoted to him [25].

It is no wonder, therefore, if the Seigniory took all pains to have the censure recalled. Hardly seated, they wrote to Bracci, on the 2d of July, to intercede with everyone of the cardinals that were members of the Reform Commission [26].

On the 8th they wrote to the Pope directly, assured as they were, that Savonarola was a zealous man of great virtue and learning and had been wrongly accused ; and they urgently begged the withdrawal of the brief of excommunication [27]. On the same day they also wrote to their envoy, Alexander Bracci, and ordered him to solicit the Pope for absolution of all who had incurred the minor excommunication by their intercourse with the excommunicated Friar [28].

Still, on the 8th of July, 1497, the religious of San Marco two hundred and fifty in number, sent a petition to the Supreme Pontiff, requesting the recall of the censure, which they ascribed to false accusations made against their Vicar, to the soundness of whose doctrine they can bear witness, they say, as also to his efforts to promote peace in the city. To their paper was attached a voucher of a great many inhabitants of Florence for the truth of the Friars' statements in regard to Savonarola's teachings and his labors for the benefit and harmony of the city. It also concludes with a prayer to His Holiness, that he may withdraw the brief of excommunication [29].

All those letters of the 8th of July are but so many untrue denials of the secondary causes of the sentence ; not one alludes to Savonarola's manifest disobedience and not one offers any hope of a future submission. They are evidently

25. Dispatch of Manfredi, in Atti e Memorie... Moden. e Parm. Vol. IV, p. 390 ; Villari, Stor. di Savon., Vol. II, p. 33.
26. Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I. Append. Vol. VIII, p. 153.
27. Ibid., p. 155.
28. Ibid., p. 154.
29. Villari, ubi supra, pp. XLII, XLIII.

a conspiration of a powerful community, of hundreds of citizens and of the official republic of Florence, to intimidate the Pope by their combined opposition, and force him to concede to the rebellious monk a complete victory over the supreme authority of the Church.

Pope Alexander VI was not unaware of the gravity of the circumstances, but neither was he afraid to stand up for the preservation of ecclesiastical discipline and of his own divinely given rights. The next following dispatch of Becchi, dated the 19th of July, to the Ten of Florence was : " If your lordships cannot persuade his Paternity, Savonarola, to consent to the union with the Tusco-Roman Congregation, or if the Seigniory cannot give a guaranty that within two months Fra G. will come to Rome, the absolution is not to be hoped for. But if the city will do this, then neither Pope nor the cardinals of the Commission of Reform are disposed to refuse it [30] ".

These plain statements of Becchi did not, however, discourage the Florentine officials. On the 21st of July the Seigniory wrote to Becchi, directing their ambassadors to renew their efforts, with the members of the Commission and with all whom they might think useful, to obtain the Friar's absolution [31] ; and again, on the 1st and the 11th of August, they encouraged Bracci, who had informed them that the Pope was more favorably disposed [32].

About this time a new epidemic was raging in the city of Florence. Savonarola wrote himself that from fifty to seventy, nay as many as a hundred people fell victims to it every day [33]. To the greater distress of the Republic, all confidence placed in the Friar's chosen reformer, the French king, became ever more and more dubious and, as a natural

30. Lucas, Girol. Savon., p. 264.
31. Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I. Append. Vol. VIII, p. 156.
32. Ibid., pp. 157, 158.
33. Villari, Stor. di Savon., vol. II, p. 39.

consequence, the belief in the prophecies of the city's glorious future grew less day after day. Ludovico Pittorio, chancellor of the duke of Ferrara, had exposed to Savonarola the doubts of certain Ferrarese friars ; and the duke himself, Savonarola's credulous disciple, had hinted his mistrust in a letter of the 8th of August. Nothing daunted, Savonarola wrote to Pittorio, on the 3d and 13th of August, that all his prophecies would be fulfilled, as some were already ; but that, if God thus chastises his servants, how much more will he not punish the wicked. As for his excommunication, he would consider it as deserving a more severe censure, to redeem it with money. " So you may see " he adds " what liars they are those who invent such reports " [34]. What the Friar thus brands as an invention, has been made into an offer of absolution, at the condition that five thousand ducats be paid to a man—whose very name is a refutation of the slander—to the saintly cardinal of Siena, afterwards pope Pius III !

As the confidence in Savonarola's mission as a prophet grew less, so the belief in the efficacy of the excommunication was gaining ground. His own brother, Messer Alberto, had expressed his fears ; but, on the 14th of August, the Friar reassured him by his dogmatic declarations : " If Rome is against me, know that it is opposed, not to me, but to Christ and contends with God. But who shall resist to Him and have peace ? Rest assured that God shall conquer " [35].

ARTICLE II. — SAVONAROLA REBELS PUBLICLY, PROTECTED BY SCHISMATIC MAGISTRATES.

In the meantime, since public preaching had been forbidden by the magistrates, Savonarola had retired to San Marco,

34. Lucas, Girol. Savon., p. 265; Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I. Append Vol. VIII, p. 129.

35. Archiv. Stor. Ibid., p. 131.

where he gave special lectures to the people, in spite of the brief of the 16th of October, 1495, and there continued, although excommunicated, to celebrate the divine offices, while the Seigniory of Florence persevered in their efforts to obtain his absolution.

Indeed, on the 2d of September the Seigniory admonished Bracci to exert himself with the Pope, the cardinals of the Commission and all who might be helpful, in favor of brother Jerome [36].

On the 26th of the same month they begged the intercession of Cardinal Caraffa, and, on the 13th of October, ordered Bracci again to request his intervention ; and they added : " We think that Fra Jerome shall have fulfilled all that is demanded of him, " probably alluding to Becchi's dispatch of the 19th of July [37].

On that same 13th of October, 1497, Savonarola wrote to the Pope, probably at the request of the magistrates, a letter consisting almost entirely of words of humility and sentimentalism, without yielding in the least to the will of the Pontiff. He expresses the wish of going to Rome, if he were safe on the journey, and most humbly submits himself in all things as he has ever done before. That meant, in reality, that he would not go to Rome, and that he did not submit to the special commands given him. So had Manfredi understood from him ; for, on the following 19th of November, the ambassadors wrote to the duke of Ferrara · " Savonarola hopes that his affairs with the Pope will soon be arranged... which, if it happens, will turn to his great praise and commendation, the more so, because he has not yielded to the Pope's commands ", ' eo maxime no se avendo voluto inclinare ad fare quelle cose che li havea ricerchata sua santità chel facesses ' [38].

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36. Archiv. Stor. Ibid., p. 158, footn. 3.
37. Ibid., pp. 161 and 162.
38. Lucas, Girol. Savon., pp. 267-270, n. 1.

That pope Alexander VI and the cardinals were not deceived by the sweet deceitful words of Savonarola appears from the pressing order given by the Seigniory, on the 7th of November, to their envoy, Alexander Bracci, to insist again and again with the Pope, the cardinal Caraffa, and all that he might suppose to be of any help, till he finally should have obtained the Friar's absolution [39].

As the Florentine magistrates were Savonarola's protectors during the latter half of the year 1497, so was the Seigniory elected for the next January and February, entirely devoted to him. Certain of the good will of the temporal authority, and despairing to obtain from his spiritual superiors the indulgence, which he considered due to his long silence in public, he cast aside all former restraint, and proceeded from the privacy of his chapel to the publicity of the convent church. Thus Manfredi relates, in his dispatch of the 1st of February, 1498, to the duke of Ferrara [40] and also Nardi [41], that on Christmas of the year 1497, certainly to the great surprise of everybody and to no little displeasure of his devotees, Savonarola publicly sang the three Masses usual on that day and gave Communion to his religious, to many seculars and to about two hundred young men who had come in procession to San Marco. He did not fear to thus offer the most solemn defiance to the supreme authority of the Church, confident as he was of the support of the official Florentine republic. And, indeed, on the feast of the Epiphany, January the 5th, the Seigniory came to San Marco, to make their offerings and to kiss the hand of Savonarola at the altar.

Pope Alexander VI easily understood that further proceedings against the rebel Friar would be useless, and left him to his evil spirit, in the expectation of more favorable

39. Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I. Append. Vol. VIII, p. 163.

40. Ap. Atti e Memor... Moden. e Parmen. Vol. IV, p. 397.

41. Istor. di Firenze, vol. I, p. 134.

circumstances ; meanwhile showing himself cold towards him [42].

The Friar's disciples, the Seigniory, were sufficiently perverted to dare give, on the 9th of January, to Bonsi, their new envoy, the order of procuring Savonarola's absolution pure and simple. Bonsi, however, replied a month later, that the case was very serious, as affecting the honor of the Holy See, and that many cardinals thought very badly of his not having respected the sentence of excommunication [43].

About this same time, the Seigniory chose and commissioned the Friar to preach the approaching Lent at the cathedral, and ordered benches and galleries to be built along the walls of the edifice, for the accommodation of children, young people and other persons who should be unable to find a seat elsewhere. The Friar needed no coaxing to accept the invitation. He told Manfredi, the Ferrarese envoy, that he was decided to preach, not at the will of the magistrates nor at the will of the Pope, who continued his old way of living, he said, but on the authority of the Superior of the Pope and of all other creatures. The envoy called his attention to the murmurs of the city, because of the censure; but he answered that he did not care about the censure, and that he was more than certain that no disorder would be caused by his sermons. Yet, when his resolution had become known, much discussion and commotion had arisen among both the clergy and the laity. Leonardo de' Medici, the vicar general of the archbishop, Rinaldo Orsini, had called the cathedral clergy and the pastors of the Florentine parishes, and ordered them to admonish their people, not to listen to the preaching of the excommunicated priest, under pain of refusal of the sacraments and of a christian burial. But as soon as the Seigniory had heard of his courageous act, they had sent him word.

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42. Bonsi, Dispatch of Febr. 6th, ap. Gherardi, p. 176.

43. Lucas, Girol. Savon., pp. 270, 271.

giving him two hours' time to choose between resigning his office or being, like a rebel, banished from the republic [44].

The Pontiff had then to defend the rights of the Church, not only against a recalcitrant monk, but also against the power of an aggressive government.

Savonarola recommenced his public preaching in the cathedral, before a very large audience already on Septuagesima Sunday, the 11th of February [45].

His sermon was a characteristic self-defence. He pretended that the excommunication issued against him was invalid. A prince, he said, and meant the Pope, is a tool, like a saw, in the hands of God. If he is not moved by God, he becomes useless, like a broken tool, cast away among other bits of iron. You can, therefore, say to a prince, who wields not his power to promote a good life: You are but a broken tool. Whosoever gives a command opposed to charity, let him be anathema. If an angel or all the saints or the Virgin Mary should oppose charity (which is impossible), let them be anathema. If any law or canon or council should oppose it, let it be anathema. And if any Pope has ever gainsaid what I say, let him be an excommunicated. I do not say that there has been such a one, but if there ever was, he was no tool of God, he was a broken iron. He then dogmatically assures that the censure is opposed to virtue and that he will not join the Tusco-Roman Congregation, so as not to have his religious relax their mode of life; he will not leave his flock to go to Rome, nor cease preaching. God himself has told him that this excommunication is not valid... But many good men are against him, they say... He answers with not a little pride : Not all who seem to be good are so indeed ; all who oppose him lead a scandalous life, while those that are

44. Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 135 ; Manfredi to the duke of Ferrara on the 1st of February, in Atti e Memor... Moden. e Parm. Vol. IV, p. 397.

45. Ibid., p. 399 : Dispatch of Febr. 13th.

for him are the ones whose whole course of life is virtuous. " O my Lord, " he exclaimed further on, " if I ever ask absolution from this excommunication, send me to hell, for I would consider it a mortal sin to request absolution ". He then accused the clergy of simoniacal absolution, reasserted his prophetic mission, and promised to work a miracle, whenever it should be needed [46].

Savonarola was well aware of this need of supernatural proof of his divine mission ; and tried to perform some miracles. John Poggio, of Florence, wrote to him in terms of scathing denunciation, saying : " Did you not, during these last months, send your scapular to Carlo Stroctio, your devotee, who was ill to death, telling him that he would be cured as soon as he would put it on ? But he gave up the ghost, as soon as he touched it. You have taken care to send it also to Cosme Oricellarius and to a great many other sick persons, to whom it was fatal ; so that, should I wish anybody to perish, I would send him your scapular. You have publicly assured that John Pic de la Mirandule would recover from his illness, of which he died three days after your prophecy. You have, it is true, afterwards tried to explain your untruth and to palliate it with new fables, but not to the satisfaction of wise men. The same has happened to Peter Vectorio, who died shortly after you had promised him bodily health " [47].

On the following Thursday, February the 15th, in a private lecture to the clergy that adhered to him, he simply grew wild in his invectives and slanders against the prelates of the Roman court, whom he knew only by hearsay from accusers of his ilk [48].

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46. Lucas, Girol. Savon., pp. 274, seqq. ; Villari, Stor. di Savon., vol. II, p. 87.

47. Munich. K. Staatsbibl. Cod. Lat. 962, f° 39 (106).— " Impressum primo fuit hoc opus Pogii Rome in Campo flore, deinde scripsi ego Hartmannus Schedel an. Salutis MCCCCLXXXXVIII " Ibid., f° (129).

48. Villari, ibid., p. 90.

Such preaching was simply scandalous, verging, as it did, on the brink of heresy and positively inciting to insubordination and schism. His discourse on the following or Sexagesima Sunday was not less perversive. After repeating his pretended proofs of the invalidity of the excommunication, he asserted that whoever obstinately maintained its validity was a heretic, with whom no intercourse was allowed and who ought to be expelled from the city.

Let his own orthodoxy be doubted, he again verbally submitted all he had to say to the judgment of the Holy Roman Church, but warned his hearers that " you are a fool if you say " that a Pope cannot err. He can err, not only as a man, but even as a Pope in his decrees and ordinances. How many different opinions have been expressed by different Popes ; and in all these cases one of them at least has erred. —Savonarola thus misled the people, by the fallacy of confounding Catholic doctrine with rules of administration, very liable to change according to the circumstances of the times. But, he himself claimed infallibility, for, said he : " I was not commissioned to preach by any man in this world, nor by any lord, but by Him who is the Lord of lords and by the Holy Trinity [49]. If such assertions should have been admitted and reduced to a principle, what would have become of the purity of Catholic faith, what would have been left of the promise and command of Our Lord : " Simon, Simon, I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not ; and thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren ? [50] " It is no wonder that these sermons were afterwards placed on the Index of Forbidden Books.

We could not help noticing, towards the end of his sermon, an instance of the inordinate self-esteem fostered by the Friar,

49. Cfr. Villari, Stor. di Savon., t II, p. 91 ; Lucas, Girol. Savon., pp. 280, seqq.

50. S. Luke, XXII, 32.

when answering the advice of replacing himself with some other preacher, he proudly declared : He would be only too glad, if there were only one capable to undertake the task ; but no one could be found [51]. Not only had God chosen him, but none other was fit to be chosen !

After repeating that one who maintains the validity of the censure is a heretic, he told the people to prepare for the Carnival, that is, for the procession, the burning of vanities and his pious, ludicrous dance.

The substance of his Quinquagesima harangue was an appeal to his friends and foes, to pray most earnestly on carnival day, that, while he shall hold the Blessed Sacrament in his hands, should not his teaching be from God, " Christ may send upon me a fire from heaven, which devour me in hell " [52] ! Savonarola had long since repudiated the living authority of the Church, established by Christ to test pure doctrine, but now he imposed upon God the working of a determined miracle, the failure of which should prove the ruin of his divine institution ! The impiety of the Friar's daring imprecation was still increased by his abuse of the Adorable Sacrament.

His wild talk was no Catholic preaching any longer ; he caused aversion even among his habitual hearers [53], and their number visibly decreased ; but he was sustained by the magistrates of Florence.

On the 17th of February, the new envoy, Dominic Bonsi, wrote to the Ten that it was known in Rome in what manner Savonarola had preached on Septuagesima Sunday, and that a cardinal of great authority severely condemned the conduct of the Seigniory towards the Vicar general of the Florentine archbishop. He advised the magistrates to write, as best they could, to the Pope a letter of excuses [54].

51. Lucas, Girol. Savon., p. 281.
52. Villari, ibid., p. 94.
53. Lucas, ibid., p. 283.
54. Archiv. Stor.. Ital. Ser. I. Append. Vol. VIII, p. 164.

Bonsi and his colleague, Bracci, had, on the 22d, an audience from the Pope, who, leaving the room suddenly, said to Bonsi : Let forsooth brother Jerome preach ! I should never have believed that you would have treated me so [55].

The Ten wrote to Bonsi, on the 23d, that they left the cause of Savonarola to his discretion ; remarking, however, that the matter was one exceeding the limits of the natural order.

Bonsi answered on the 25th of February, that he and Bracci had, in the morning, obtained another audience. The Pope was surprised that the Seigniory should allow the Friar to preach, especially in the way as he did ; and he recited to them portions of his sermons. Neither Turk nor Infidel would tolerate such conduct, he declared ; and he directed us to send a special messenger to warn you, that he will place the whole city under interdict, if means are not taken to stop the preaching before Lent. No one in Rome can be persuaded of the supernatural character of his work, and no support can be expected for him here [56].

On the 26th of February, 1498, pope Alexander VI sent, indeed, a brief to the Seigniory of Florence, in which he enumerated the orders which he had successively given to the son of iniquity, brother Jerome Savonarola of Ferrara, on account of whose continued disobedience he had finally declared him to be excommunicated and ordered all to avoid him. He went on to say that, to his great displeasure, he has learned that Savonarola continues to preach in the cathedral and other churches of the city, to disseminate various errors and to seduce the people, asserting on false grounds that he is not excommunicated, and many other things, to the prejudice of the Catholic faith and of the authority of the Holy See ; moreover, that he has not feared to march in

55. Lucas, Girol. Savon., p. 298. | 56. Ibid., pp. 298, seqq.

public processions, to celebrate and to administer the Holy Eucharist to the faithful. We have heard that many people of the city listen to his sermons, speak with him and, day after day, gave him help and favor. And to all this you give your consent, totally disregarding our order, made known to you. We had not expected such a thing from you, for the peace, welfare and rehabilitation of whose city, we continually do our best ; nor shall we overlook it all any longer. To make suitable provisions, we strictly command you in virtue of holy obedience, to conduct to us the said Jerome under a good and faithful guard. If he comes to us and be penitent, for your sake, and because we do not wish the death of a sinner but that he be converted and live, he shall be received and treated as by a tender father. Or you must at least confine him, as a putrid member, well watched, in some secret place, where he cannot converse with others and propagate the scandal. If perhaps you refuse to do this, as we expect not, we let you know that, to preserve our dignity and authority and that of the Holy See, we shall subject your city to ecclesiastical interdict, as daring to support, in spite of our commands, a man so dangerous, publicly denounced as excommunicated und suspected of heresy ; and we shall proceed to more severe penalties, as we see fit to do. Given in Rome, at St. Peter's under the seal of the Fisherman's ring, the 26th of February, 1498 [57].

The Pontiff wrote at the same time to the canons of the cathedral, ordering them to absolutely refuse to the Friar permission to preach any longer in that church [58].

About the time that these briefs reached Florence, Savonarola was declaiming in the cathedral his sermon of Ash-Wednesday, in which he was even more violent than before, and using unprintable language, although in the presence of

57. See Document 128.

58. Villari, Stor. di Savon., vol. II, p. 102.

ladies and children, against the " gran maestro ", the Pope, and the prelates of Rome [59].

His rant, however, had an effect injurious to him and to his party; for the election of the Seigniory, for the months of March and April, returned, of the nine successful members, six that were hostile to him, with Piero di Niccolo Popoleschi, a bitter enemy of Savonarola, as Gonfaloniere of Justice [60]. When, therefore, the canons of the Florentine duomo notified him of the papal command and forbade him the further use of the cathedral pulpit, Savonarola could not expect any more the interference of the temporal power in his favor, and he retired at once to his church of San Marco, where he continued his diatribes, for men on Sundays and on Saturdays for women.

Bitterly exasperated, he did not, here, relax his war against the Pope, whom he called the " gran maestro ", and, addressing him, he exclaimed : " If you wish to fight against me, you will fight as a pagan, for we live in a Christian manner, while your life is in opposition to Christ ". Other statements of his are like this : " You say that we must not resist ecclesiastical power, but I say that when power is used to the detriment of the Church, it is no longer an ecclesiastical power, but an infernal power, the power of Satan ". And, " You priests, who bear yourselves so proudly, will one day hide your tonsures for shame. Then, saith the Lord, shall you know me, and then shall you confess that it is not the Friar who has preached to you, but I myself. " And further on : " Think not that I will recant, may God preserve me from wavering, if that absolution which they want should come ". Till the end, he acted the prophet, and announced again the approaching conversion of the Turks [61]. He denied

59. Lucas, Girol. Savon., pp. 286, 287.

60. Nardi, Istor. di Firenze, vol. I, p. 138 ; Villari, ubi supra, p. LIII.

61. Lucas, Girol. Savon., pp. 285 to 289.

having ever spoken ill of the Pope : because he never named him ; but the unscrupulous Machiavelli, who heard him preach, wrote on the 8th of March, 1498, that, after the Seigniory had written in his behalf to the Pope, and seeing that he had no need to fear his adversaries in Florence, he incited all his hearers against the Sovereign Pontiff and encouraged them to revolt against him and his envoys ; saying of him all that can be said of the very worst of criminals [62].

The Pontiff had no sinister intentions when ordering, on the 26th of February, the Florentine Seigniory to transmit the Friar to him ; for, on the following day, he told ambassador Bonsi that, if Fra Girolamo would obey and abstain from preaching, he would after a short time absolve him from all censures [63]. He had no idea of putting him to death. Only a few days after, Bonsi, wrote that, if Savonarola should submit, the Pope would not thereafter refuse him permission to preach, and the Pope himself spoke with praise of his former services. The worst that might have befallen him in Rome was what the Seigniory had been ordered to do with him in Florence, namely to be segregated from all those to whom his teachings could be injurious, till, deprived of his authority and liberty, he should have become again a humble and useful monk. At all events, his life would have been spared.

The former papal brief was not obeyed, however. A general consultation, a " Pratica ", was held, in which the Ten of Peace and other friends of Savonarola took part ; and it was decided to reply to the papal commands by stating that the Friar had withdrawn from the cathedral to his own convent [64], in hope that the Pope's anger would abate, when

62. Machiav. Lettere familiari, IIa, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I. Append. Vol. VIII, p. 83.

63. Lucas, p. 301.

64. Lucas, p. 287, says by mistake that the immediate effect of the Brief was to cause the Seignory to forbid Savonarola to preach any longer in the duomo. He withdrew at the order of the cathedral Chapter.

he would learn the falsity of the accusations against him. They extolled to the skies his good life and works and great success ; but finally declared that they could not easily obey the orders of His Holiness, without incurring disgrace and the danger of a revolution [65].

This answer was forwarded in the name of the Seigniory. Hostile as this body was to Savonarola, they intended to incite the Pontiff by their disobedience to publish his threatened interdict, by which they would be enabled to proceed against the Friar with greater show of justice and greater vigor. Such is the opinion of the ambassador of the duke of Milan, Somenzi and of Lanfredini, ambassador in Venice, writing at the time to the " Anziani " of Pisa [66], and admitted by Vallori and Lucas [67].

Their ambassador took, on the 7th of March, the answer of the Seigniory to the Pontiff, who declared it a wicked letter. Bonsi wrote back to Florence that the interdict would certainly be imposed, unless some show of obedience were made, by forbidding Savonarola to preach for a length of time.

We are falling more and more into disgrace and the whole Roman court is against us, he added [68].

The Pope was, however, still slow to act. Probably on the 9th, he gave to the Florentine Seigniory a second warning, by a brief full of dignity and firmness, in which the case of Savonarola was clearly set forth. We relate the principal passages of this document at greater length, because of its obvious importance, and because of the neglect and inaccuracy with which it is generally mentioned.

" We never expected you to go so far, " the Pontiff says, " as to contest, like a lawsuit, the execution of our orders

65. Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I App. Vol. VIII, p. 165.

66. Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. III. T. XIII. P. I, p. 185 ; from Archiv. di Stato in Pisa, Lettere agli Anziani, Filza III, fo 485vo.

67. Villari, vol. II, p. LIII and 106 ; Lucas, p. 303.

68. Lucas, Girol. Savon., p. 304.

regarding Jerome Savonarola. It is your duty to give to Cesar the things that are Cesar's ; and to God, the things that are God's [69]. Govern your republic, direct your temporal interests, but leave to us the care of ecclesiastical matters, and execute whatever orders we give in church affairs, without objection or excuse.

We have commanded you to send to us Fra Jerome or to separate him from all human intercourse. While we were looking for either, we received your letter, colored, as we think, by the friar himself, with his many holy works, the devotedness of the people to him and the danger of coercing him. We are not willing to dispute with our servant : our authority would be vilified, and letters and briefs would have no end. This we shall say for the dignity of the Holy See, and you shall regard it as definitive, for we have resolved to write no more on this subject :

We do not stone him because of his good works, at which we rejoice ; all our intention is to severely restrain the impudence, pride and disobedience of Jerome Savonarola, so that he humbly ask our pardon, which we shall mercifully grant ; and, after a true correction of his errors, we shall grant him whatever help he may ask to continue and increase the good work commenced among you.

Let no one ask Us why he was excommunicated and how he was most disobedient to Us. That would require a judiciary discussion, which cannot be made through letters. Hold this for a fact, that without any incitement he was denounced as having been excommunicated by our authority, principally in consequence of our order that he should unite himself and the convent of San Marco with the other twelve houses, which we have established as a Congregation of strict observance ; for we gave that command under pain of excommunication

69. St. Matt. XXII, 21.

" latae sententiae ". The brief was served upon him by Matthew Ransinus, a friar of the Dominican Order, who was Jerome's guest, as he reported to Us. Jerome did not obey, he even wrote a pamphlet in contempt of that union, as if the apostolic authority had not intervened. We do not mention the order that We gave him to come to us and not to preach; and each time We have threatened him with the censure. But, sustained by the most credulous people of Florence, he has neither consented to the union, nor come to Us nor stopped preaching. He has thus, several times, knowingly incurred the sentence of excommunication and, by celebrating, irregularity. He has, by word and deed, despised our authority and that of the Holy See, with an arrogance never heard of. Nay more, in his madness, he has, these last days, often dared to preach in the cathedral of Florence that not only he was not excommunicated, but was, like an angel, sent by God ; and he omitted nothing of what he could think in contempt of our censures.

That he has preached while knowing that he had been denounced as excommunicated you have not denied, nor does your orator with Us doubt it. Is not this enough for all to know, wonder at and condemn the man's incorrigibility and his frivolity encouraged by the approval of your people ? We are more inclined to loathing or rather to scorn, by the issues of your printers who publish word for word some of Savonarola's statements related before. We are ready to hear and tolerate, after the example of Our Savior, what is said against our person; but We shall never permit attacks on the honor and authority of the Holy See over which We preside.

We greatly wonder at Jerome, who is led by a maniacal disposition, but We not only wonder at you, who hold the reins of the government of your republic; We justly complain, and are so disturbed by your excessive toleration, not to say your assistance given him, that We shall not rest, until We

have duly provided for the honor of the Holy See, impaired in so many ways by that little worm warmed up by your heat. We want you to see to it, that what We have enjoined upon you by our former letter be made effective. You must altogether drop the absolutely false idea, that We treat this affair according to the suggestions of others. We are not actuated either by your enemies or those of Jerome, nor by any hostile thought, but only by zeal for our honor. We have not deprived your people of Jerome's sermons ; he has by his obstinacy deprived himself of your hearing him, when he has obtained from you a public edict, forbidding any one but himself to announce the word of God to your people, resolved to be considered as the only Apollonian oracle of the Florentines. How many celebrated heralds of the Gospel you have ejected from your city, so that you might worship Jerome alone, and that no one from the Florentine monasteries might expose his follies to a blindfolded people ! Help now other preachers to expound the word of God, allow every one to contribute what he can to God's storehouse ; suffer patiently that the tongue of the anathematized Jerome be restrained ; not, indeed, forever, but until, after due humiliation, his mouth be opened by Us. Be mindful of your interests, so that, through the interference of a simple monk, a fly should not, as they say, fall into the milk, which, for good reasons, should gradually coagulate between Us and you. For as you shall be obedient to Us in matters that concern our authority, so shall We feel disposed to liberality in all that regards the advantage of your republic. Farewell. Answer Us not by letters, but by your works; else We shall punish your repeated disobedience, which has become unbearable, and subject without delay the whole city of Florence to an ecclesiastical interdict, that is to last as long as you shall grant favor to your monstrous idol " [70].

70. See Document 129.

The next following events are succinctly related in a contemporary record [71]. The Florentine merchants living in Rome had recourse to the Seigniory, in their fears of seeing their goods confiscated and of being locked up in the castle of Sant' Angelo, unless Florence should obey the papal mandates [72]. The ambassador Bonsi, although one of the most devoted to Savonarola [73], wrote, one after another, the most pressing letters to the Ten, representing that, in case of disobedience, the Pope would take no more interest in the restitution of Pisa to Florence, that the Republic could expect nothing but evil from the Pope, and that the Pope had had an interview with Piero de' Medici.

The Seigniory, before yielding, called, on the 14th of March, a consultation meeting, a " Pratica ", of all the city officials, at which there were thirty-two speakers. Seventeen were in favor of suspending the preaching, eight were opposed to it, the others were doubtful or referred the decision to the Seigniory. The majority of the " pratica " was thus in favor of the suspension ; but, as the opinions varied and the meeting had been stormy, the Seigniory, although adverse to Savonarola, before coming to a resolution, convoked, on the 17th, another gathering ; this time, of nineteen of the most influential citizens, as it were, the heart of the city. The conclusion was unanimous, namely, that Savonarola should be persuaded to cease preaching altogether; but that the other demands of the Pope, to wit, that he be sent to Rome or kept under lock and key in Florence, were opposed to the honor of the city.

On the third Sunday of Lent, the 18th of March, 1498,

71. Atti e Memorie della RR. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Provincie dell' Emilia, Nuov. Ser. Vol. V. P. V, p. XXXVII.

72. Cfr. Gherardi, p. 204. Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 137, gratuitously adds that the Pope " came very near " ordering that the Florentines should be pillaged all over Christendom!

73. Nardi, ibid.

Savonarola preached, like a desperate [74], more vehement, threatening and insulting than ever, his last sermon.

The brief, that eventually put an end to his preaching, had arrived in Florence on the 13th of March. As soon as Savonarola was informed of it, he allowed himself, the same day, to write to the Sovereign Pontiff a fierce letter, like this : " Most Holy Father. After having seen how some pastors of the Church have, by their bad example and corrupt doctrine, led into error the flock committed to their care, and have, by their numerous turpitudes, taught them the way to hell, I thought it to be my duty, to defend, for the honor of God and the exaltation of holy faith, the truth of the Catholic doctrine, and to correct and reprimand man for his corrupt manners, and to recall him to Christian morality. Attending to that ever since, and, by foretelling to the sinners the approaching scourges, I endeavor to bring the people back to the arduous path of salvation; I have been overburdened with sadness and anguish, and I find neither solace nor help. I had hoped that Your Holiness would have come to my assistance and would have fought with me against the enemies of the faith. But I see that I have been deceived very much, because it is evident to me that Your Holiness has not been willing to accept favorably the many defenses of my innocence and all my good reasons, set forth, not to excuse any sin, but to prove the integrity of the doctrine that I am preaching, and to show the humility with which I venerate Your Holiness and the holy Roman Church; and I see, on the contrary, that you make such good face to my adversaries, that I must no longer expect from Your Holiness the assistance which I looked for from you, as from a Christian and a Supreme Pastor. Thus was given to ferocious wolves the power of becoming cruel to me. For the future I put my confidence in Him who

74. Nardi, ubi supra.

chooses the frailest of human tools, to confound the powerful of the earth ; and I hope to be heard by Him, for the sake of that truth for which I meet and suffer so severe a persecution, and to see punished all that persecute me and oppose me in God's work, to accomplish which I have devoted myself and all my strength ; for I never have, at the example of Christ, looked for, nor even yet do I look for my personal glory. I am expecting death with the greatest desire ; and you, Holy Father, be not slow in providing for your salvation [75].

ARTICLE III. — SAVONAROLA PREPARING A COUNCIL AGAINST ALEXANDER VI.

Savonarola's paraphrase of the words of St. Paul : " The weak things of the world hath God chosen, that he may confound the strong " [76] was a daring threat to carry out his long premeditated scheme : to justify his conduct, to depose pope Alexander VI and to assume the tiara himself [77], by means of a Conciliabule, to be convoked, at his urgency, by the principal princes of Europe. Fra Jerome could not be ignorant of the famous bull, " Execrabilis ", issued by Pius II on the 1st of January, 1460, and confirmed by Innocent VIII on the 12th of December, 1489 [78], by which it was forbidden, under pain of excommunication, to appeal from the Pope to a general Council ; but he did not care about obeying any Sovereign Pontiff or incurring one more excommunication.

To this project he had often alluded, by his threat of turning the key of his casket, and making revelations that would have a terrible outcome. In one of his last sermons [79] he spoke

75. Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana Cod. 2052 ; Aquarone, Vita di Fra. Jerom Savon., p. LXIV.
76. I Cor., I, 27.
77. Villari, Storia di Savon. Vol II, p. CLXXII.
78. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Innoc. VIII. Secret. Lib. III, Regest. 693, f° 154.
79. XIIIth on Exodus.

of if again and gave to his hearers a quite erroneous, if not a heretical, instruction on the nature of a general council. He commenced with the text : " They came together and gathered all the ancients of Israel. That is a beautiful theme ", he said, " but I will keep it still a while and put it in my pocket: It is not the time yet. I shall only say this much: Tell me, Florence, what is meant by a Council ? Men do not remember any more what a Council is. What does it mean that your sons know nothing of it ; what does it mean that none is held to-day ?—O Father, none can be assembled.—You speak perhaps the truth ; but I do not know whether you understand it as I do. A council means an assemblage of the Church, that is, of all the good abbots, prelates and meritorious men and of seculars that belong to it. But mark that is not properly called the Church, if the grace of the Holy Ghost is not with it. And where, to-day, can be found that essential condition (' forma '), of the Church ?—Did not Luther find here the germ of his errors, excluding all sinners from membership of the Church and establishing his invisible Church?—" The grace of the Holy Ghost is perhaps not to be found to-day but in some little man of no account ; and, for that reason, you might perhaps say that no council can be held. At a council must be established reformers that reform anew things which have been spoiled ; but who will be those reformers ? Again, at a Council are chastized the bad clerics, is deposed the bishop who has been a simonist or a schismatic. Oh, how many would be deposed ! There would not perhaps remain a single one ! Behold, that is why a Council could not be assembled " [80]. Savonarola let his hearers conclude that he himself was perhaps the little depised man, the whole Church properly called ! In fact, however, having been excommunicated, he was not even a member of the Church any longer.

80. Villari, vol. II, p. 109.

Towards the middle of March, 1498, he felt the need of postponing no longer the execution of his threat. He prepared a rough draft of various letters, that were written by five of his friends, to the emperor and to the kings of France, Spain, England and Hungary, in order to introduce and recommend the subject of convoking a general Council. His own personal letters were to accompany the former [81]. Those, however, expedited by Domenico Mazzinghi, to Charles VIII of France, were intercepted by the duke of Milan ; and, through his brother, cardinal Sforza, communicated at once to the Pope. The letters to the other princes were, it seems, never dispatched [82], but they are to be found, in manuscript, in the Venetian Library of St. Marc and are published in Italian by Mansi [83], among the Miscellanies of Baluzius.

The genuineness of Savonarola's letters to the Princes has been contested, but an article of the Archivio Storico Italiano proves beyond a doubt their authenticity, and fully refutes the alleged objections [84].

The letters of Fra Jerome to the emperor and to the kings of France and of Spain are substantially the same. The most important passages are as follows :

" Most Serene Emperor, God has decreed of late to do justice and show mercy on earth, namely, to revenge with his scourges the abominations that reign in his temple ; and, after exterminating its most wicked ministers, to restore it to its former dignity ; and, on the other hand, to kindly convert the Infidels to himself ; and he has deigned to reveal that to me, his useless servant. And now that the time of vengeance is approaching, the Lord has commanded me to manifest some things more secret to you kings and princes of the Christian common-wealth, so that you may know the greatness

81. Villari, pp. 132-135.
82. Lucas, Girol. Savon., p. 325.
83. T. I, p. 583.
84. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, Append. Vol. VIII, pp. 86-90 ; Cfr. Ibid., pp. 73, seqq. ; G. Bartoli, Apologia di Savon., p. 311 ; Villari, vol. II, pp. LXVIII, seqq.

of the danger to which the bark of Peter is exposed, in consequence of your toleration and guilt and of your discord. There is seen in the Church such a license of sin that, from head to foot, there is no sanity left in it, but the abomination of all vices stalks shamelessly about, while you are silent and venerate the pestilence that sits in St. Peter's chair. The Lord, hostile because of the unbearable stench, has long since allowed that there should be no shepherd of the Church. I assure you, upon the word of the Lord, that this Alexander VI is not the Pontiff at all, nor can he be admitted to the pontificate. Not to speak of his abominable crime of simony, through which he has secretly bought his tiara, and his other manifest vices, I assert above all and affirm with full certainty that he is not a Christian, he thinks that there is no God at all, and transgresses the limits of all infidelity and impiety. If the Lord inspires me, I shall in due place and time reveal his hidden vices, that deserve to be execrated by the whole world. Therefore, Serene Cesar, I admonish you and beseech you, by order of Almighty God, by whom you have been placed at the head of your empire, together with the other defenders of the Christian republic, to put aside all hesitation and earthly dissensions, and to prepare a solemn Council, in a fit and free place, that assistance may soon be procured to prevent the fatal injury done to souls, and to save from its peril the bark of St. Peter ; otherwise you shall not escape the commission of a most grievous sin and God's indignation. I have, by order of God, written all these same things to the Most Christian king of France and to the sacred kings of Spain, of the island of Britain and of Pannonia ; that, for their common welfare, they all may be unanimously incited to this enterprise.

As for myself, no matter by what conditions you may bind me, I irrevocably promise that, not only shall I afford before the Holy Council the most convincing, ' certissimas ', proofs,

but, what is more, that the Almighty Lord also shall show the truth of it all by the most evident miracles. As we have received from Him the infallible promise, so do we, with great confidence, pledge the accomplishment, " experimentum ", seeking not our own but God's glory. You, then, most Serene Emperor, do not, to your detriment, despise the mandate of your God. "

Such was the presumptuous letter of a vile calumniator and lying prophet, which eventually proved to be the main cause why his intended victim, the Pope, surrendered him to the power of his temporal judges.

Pope Alexander VI was evidently not yet aware of these latest machinations of Savonarola, when he expressed his satisfaction at the silence imposed on the Friar. The Seigniory had, indeed, already on the 18th of March, ordered their ambassador Bonsi to communicate to the Pope the order given to the Friar [85], and Bonsi answered them on the 23d, that, if Fra Jerome would remain silent for a length of time and ask absolution, the Pontiff would give him permission to preach again ; for he did not, he said, condemn his doctrine but his contempt of ecclesiastical censures [86]. Yet, he complained of the abusive language of the three Dominican friars, whom Savonarola had appointed to replace him in the pulpits of various Florentine churches [87], and who, as Somenzi wrote to the duke of Milan on the 27th of March, said no less than he himself used to say, but perhaps spoke even more against the Pope and the whole clergy [88].

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85. Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I. Append. Vol. VIII, p. 170 and again p. 172.

86. Atti et Mem... per le Provincie del Emilia, Nuov. Ser. Vol. I, P. 1, p. XXXVII or seq. ; Lucas, Girol. Savon., p. 320.

87. Lucas, ibid.

88. Villari, vol. II, p. LX.

CHAPTER IX.

End of Savonarola.

ARTICLE I. — THE ORDEAL OF FIRE. — ATTACK ON SAN MARCO.

Already at Easter of the year 1497, Francesco di Puglia, a friar of the Franciscan Order, had defied one of these three substitutes of Savonarola, Dominic Buonvicini da Pescia, to an ordeal with him, to prove the falsity of his master's prophecies. Towards the end of March, 1498, Francesco renewed his challenge to enter the fire with Savonarola himself, who had, during the last year, often promised to establish his veracity by the performance of a miracle. Dominic da Pescia answered him that he was ready to replace Fra Jerome, who was, he said, reserved for greater things [1] as if to be miraculously preserved in a burning furnace like Sidrach, Misag and Abdenago, were of little importance to him. Savonarola accepted, however, Francesco's defiance, but on conditions that were impossible [2], or he simply refused it, for various irrelevant reasons [3]. Thereupon, Francesco di Puglia also refused to undergo the test with any other, because, he said, he had chosen Fra Jerome, in order that the evil may be stopped altogether, while the death of Fra Dominic and of himself would bring no change in the confusion [4].

Confident that he would come forth from the ordeal safe and unhurt, Dominic da Pescia remained steadfast in his resolution, and the Franciscan lay brother, Giuliano Rondi-

1. Villari, ibid., p. 138 ; Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 449.
2. Related by Perrens, Jérome Savon., p. 244.
3. Related by Burchard, ubi supra.
4. Villari, vol. II, p. XCI.

nelli offered himself to take the place of Francesco di Puglia, to prove, by the result of the experiment, the falsity of the following propositions published on the 27th by Savonarola's champion :

The Church of God needs a renovation,

She shall be scourged,

She shall be renovated,

Florence, after being scourged, shall be renewed and prosper,

The Infidels shall be converted to Christ,

All this shall be at our time,

The excommunication lately issued against the reverend Father, brother Jerome Savonarola, is null,

Those who do not observe it commit no sin [5].

The public challenge and its discussion caused such an excitement among the Florentine people, that grave disturbances were apprehended [6]. The Seigniory, therefore, took the matter in hand; received the signatures of Fra Rondinelli, who said that he expected to die in the fire for a good, sufficient cause ; and of Fra Dominic, who declared that he would miraculously be saved [7]. The Magnificent lords consequently decreed that, should the Franciscan alone perish in the ordeal, then Francesco di Puglia should be banished forever from the Republic ; and should the Dominican be injured or burnt, then Savonarola and Dominic da Pescia should both likewise be banished [8]. The same penalty was imposed on either party that would prevent the experiment to be made. They finally set the Saturday, 7th of April, as date for the event, and prepared all that was needed for the barbarous test.

5. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 446. Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I. Append. Vol. VIII, p. 173 ; Villari, vol. II. p. 140, n. 2.

6. Letter of the ambassadors Tranchedino, from Bologna, March 29th, 1498, and Somenzi to Milan, April the 7th, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ann. 1863. P. II, p. 31.

7. Villari, vol. II, p. XCII.

8. Ibid., p. XCIII.

According to an anonymous author, designated as Burlamachi, the Seigniory also asked permission of the Pope to let the ordeal take place, but the Pontiff refused for fear of losing his mitre, in case it should turn out in favor of Savonarola ; but his answer was sent too late ; on purpose, Villari's French translation adds [9]. All this is erroneous. The Archivio Italiano [10] states that there exists no letter of the Seigniory making such a request, and Villari himself [11] believes not that the Pope ever sent an answer. There evidently is confusion here with a letter, presently to be noticed, by which the Seigniory asks permission to judge Savonarola, and orders Bonsi to communicate to His Holiness the details of the ordeal, but that contains not a word of its allowance, whether requested or refused. That pope Alexander VI feared for his mitre from the result of a sinful attempt, is a slander not worth a refutation.

The Pope had, no doubt, heard rumors of what was going on in Florence ; yet, when ambassador Bonsi told him the first time about it, he was struck with astonishment, and asked whether the project would be carried out. On the 8th of April, before the fact was known in Rome, he and the cardinal of Perugia strongly condemned the experiment, " damnandolo molto ". It is very clear that pope Alexander VI disapproved of the whole affair [12].

On the day appointed, the Franciscans were present first, silent and in their customary garb. About half past ten the Dominicans appeared in procession. Savonarola dressed, like his assistants, in church ornaments and carrying the Blessed Sacrament, surrounded by hundreds of his followers with burning torches in their hands, and all chanting psalms and other prayers. The Dominicans claimed that Fra Dom-

9. I. II, p. 329, footn.
10. Ser. I. Append. Vol. III, p. 173 or seq.
11. Vol. II, p. 145, footn. 1.
12. Lucas, Girol. Savon., p. 347.

inic da Pescia should carry with him the consecrated host, in going through the piles of burning wood and pitch. Another discussion followed. The Friar answered by making the theological distinction between the substance and the accidents of the Sacrament, and refused to admit that, if the appearances of bread should burn, all simple souls, the people generally, would be greatly scandalized. Moreover, Fra Dominic declared that he was directed in so doing by a divine inspiration, and simply was unwilling to concede the demand of both the Franciscans and of the Seigniory. The crowds, kept in suspense till late in the afternoon and drenched by a sudden rainshower, commenced to utter loud murmurs of anger and, at last the Seigniory gave orders to both parties to return home. Savonarola easily noticed that the failure of the experiment was generally laid to his charge, and although he had come with his usual bodyguard, he requested from the magistrates an official escort to take him back to San Marco. The soldiers could not, however, prevent the insults of his enemies and of many of his disillusioned former adherents[13].

The following day, the Dominican friar Mariano Ughi was to preach in the afternoon at the cathedral, but the Compagnacci prevented him, by causing in and around the church a tumult which soon spread all over the city, and especially towards the convent of San Marco. The rioters, mostly boys and youths, soon attacked with stones and rocks the people that were entering the church for vesper. The friars and some of their friends ran for the weapons, with which the monastery had been provided a few days before, for fear of an assault, and engaged with muskets and other arms in a combat the lasted nearly an hour on the adjoining square.

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13. Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, t. I, p. 146, 148; Archiv. Stor. Ital. An. 1863. P. II, p. 31; P. Delphini, Epist. Lib. V. Ep. LXVIII; Historians of the time generally.

The mob then disappeared, perhaps in consequence of an order from the Seigniory, commanding the laying down of arms and the evacuation by all lay people of the church and convent of San Marco, and condemning Savonarola to exile from the Republic within twelve hours. The Friar remained, however, with his brethren, not to be cut to pieces on the street, neither did all his adherents leave the church.

The monks enjoyed a quiet of a couple of hours. But the rioters, now strengthened by two companies of the city's armed men, exerted their fury first on the houses of a few of the Friar's best friends, and then returned to the convent, where they were received again with armed resistance, and a bloody fray ensued. The assailants started a fire against the principal church door, while, from the roof, Fra Benedetto dropped bricks on their heads. A few scaled the walls of the monastery and fought within the cloister. When late at night the main door gave way, the desecrated church became the scene of a fierce battle, in which the friars and their friends were soon overpowered. Pietro Delphini, who was in Florence at the time, relates that in this encounter two monks and four laymen were killed outright, and it was said that nearly forty were mortally wounded, besides the citizens, six in number, who had been murdered at other places.

ARTICLE II. — SAVONAROLA ARRESTED AND CONDEMNED.

About midnight, Savonarola and his confidants, the Fathers Dominic Buonvicini and Silvester Maruffi, were arrested after repeated summonses from the Seigniory, conducted before the Magnificent lords, in the midst of insults and dangers of death, and confined in the jail of the palace [14].

14. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Varia Politicorum XLVII, f° 361v° ; Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, pp. 150, seq. ; Cappelli, in Atti e Mem... per le Prov. Moden. p. 317.

Somenzi writes on the 9th of April that, after this, the city was peaceful, the bands of rioters had laid down their arms, and it looked as if there had been no disturbance at all [15]. His information is confirmed by two letters of the Seigniory of the 9th and of the 18th of April [16].

The Seigniory sent the following letter to Bonsi that very night, dated April the 8th :

" Although we wrote to you, last evening, of the event that took place in the city, nevertheless, to give you more certitude, we write to you again. We took into consideration the obedience we owe to the Pontiff, on the one hand, and, on the other, the promises of Fra Jerome, that were of a nature to make everybody doubt ; we resolved to see for once what the thing was to be and, in our anxiety to make certain between the yes and the no. To that effect, brother Dominic da Pescia having offered certain propositions regarding the renovation of the Church and the invalidity of the excommunication, and a friar of St. Francis having opposed them, they both agreed to prove their opinion by means of the fire, although the Franciscan said that he was to die in it, while Fra Dominic assured that he would come forth uninjured. We, to clear the doubt, have ordered the fire trial, to which they have come ; but then, after Fra Jerome had held everyone in suspense by his delays and novel conditions, they went back to their convents. Everybody being indignant about it, the day following, that was the 8th of this month, they rose against Fra Jerome, as being a seducer and a false prophet, and rushed to San Marco, where he defended himself vigorously with weapons and musketry. We have then exiled him, but he stayed to be taken by force : he, Fra Dominic da Pescia and Fra Silvester, whom we hold under good guard. On the same day Francis Valori was cut to pieces by the

15. Archiv. Hist. Ital. An. 1863, P. II, p. 34.

16. Ibid. Ser. I. Append. Vol. VIII, pp. 175 or seq. and 180.

people, and his house, as also that of Andrew Cambini, was burnt down. Until this moment nothing else has taken place, and we hope that everything will be settled in good peace and accord, which God may grant through his grace. You shall communicate all this to the Holiness of Our Lord, and ask and supplicate him that, from his clemency, he be willing to grant us permission to examine the Friar, and, besides, a general absolution of every censure, which may have been incurred as well on the occasion of his sermons as of the arrest of the friars; and to that effect you shall urgently beg the Pope, with all your usual diligence and care"[17].

As soon as these requests were presented to him, pope Alexander VI congratulated on the 12th of April, the Magnificent lords, for having confined the son of iniquity, Fra Jerome Savonarola, who had deluded the people with his vain and pretentious promises; and gave them permission to examine the three friars, even with torture, as was usual at the time. Yet, to save as best he could, the right of ecclesiastical immunity, he ordered that some ecclesiastics, Simon Rucellai and Thomas Arnoldi, canons of Florence[18], should be associated with the judges[19]; and claimed that, after the hearing of the culprits was over, they should be delivered alive into his hands[20].

The same day, the Pope sent another brief to the Vicar General of the archbishop and to the cathedral Chapter, granting them power to absolve from all censures and irregularities incurred in any manner by reason of the excommunication and of homicide. He soon after extended the faculty to the

17. Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I Append. Vol. VIII, p. 176.
18. Baluze, Miscellanea, p. 544.
19. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 453; Lucas, Girol. Savon., p. 372.
20. Nardi, Istor. di Firenze, vol. I, p. 154; Archiv. Stor. Ital. An. 1863, P. II, p. 37, from a private letter of some prominent Florentine; Villari, Girol. Savon. Vol. II, p. 214; etc.

cases of arrest and maltreatment of the friars, and conceded an indulgence to be gained on the Sunday after Easter [21].

These favors were thankfully received in Florence, but the Pope's demand, of having Savonarola and his two companions surrendered to him, was very unwelcome. Savonarola had taught the Florentines to disobey the Pontiff, and, to the loss of his life, they disobeyed him on this occasion. A " Pratica " or meeting of consultation was called, to know whether Savonarola should be sent to Rome or be judged in Florence.

The idea prevailed that his trial should proceed in Florence, and that afterwards they could deliberate better, whether to surrender him or not [22].

A special commission, among whom were some of Savonarola's bitter enemies, had already been appointed to examine and sentence the Friar. They had commenced their task on the 10th of April and finished it on the 19th, making a minute inquiry into both his political and his ecclesiastical career, and finding him deserving of death.

We here insert a commonplace remark of Lucas [23] : " There can be no doubt that in Savonarola's own time and subsequently, there were good men who, judging in accordance with the principles of civil and ecclesiastical jurisprudence which were then current, believed that Savonarola was justly condemned. Nor can this judgment, as it would seem, be set down simply to ignorance of the facts in the case. "

Little use can, however, be made in history of the printed report of the proceedings, for it seems to be interpolated, and the confessions of the Friar were obtained under the influence of torture ; but it is generally admitted that he acknowledged his deceit in acting as an inspired prophet. and his attempt to gather a general Council for the deposition

21. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 452 ; Nardi, ubi supra, p. 155.

22. Lucas, p. 373.

23. P. 365.

of pope Alexander VI. He had, moreover, to acknowledge many a word and deed, done and spoken, during the last three or four years, to the detriment of the party that now was in power.

The confession of Savonarola and other corroborative evidence of his deceptions were so convincing that the very friars of San Marco severed their sinful allegiance to him and, on the 21st of April, they sent two of their members, to present to the Pope their humble request of pardon and of absolution from the excommunication, inflicted also by their most reverend superior general, and of dispensation in irregularity, incurred by celebrating while excommunicated or from having used weapons in defending their convent. They alleged their good intentions and the misfortune of having simply been misled by the most ingenious craftiness of Fra Jerome of Ferrara, and by his simulated sanctity. Only half converted, however, they still presumed to ask for the continuance of their convent as an independent Province of the Dominican Order [24].

In a letter of the same date to the Pontiff, the Florentine Seigniory ventured to support the friars in their latter request, and ordered their ambassador, Bonsi, to assist the two delegates who were proceeding to Rome to beg pardon of their long continued disobedience and the renewal of their former privileges to constitute a Dominican Province [25]; and three days later, on the 24th of April, they wrote again to Bonsi for the same purpose [26].

The brief by which pope Alexander VI answered the friars of San Marco, on the 14th of May, is one of the documents that establish the greatness of his charity and courage. He

24. Archiv. Vatic. Varia Politicorum, IX, f° 86, XX, f° 155, LV, f° 463; Ms. of the Venetian Library of St. Mark, ap. Perrens, Jér. Savon., p. 394.

25. Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I. Append. Vol. VIII, p. 184.

26. Ibid., p. 186.

points out to them, with apostolic gravity, their serious offense ; yet, at their first protestation of repentance, he grants them forgiveness and rehabilitation, which shall officially be given by their own superior general. He had commanded their union with the Tusco-Roman Province, and he could not now legitimate their former disobedience, nor submit the pontifical authority to wishes of a temporal power : " We desire you to unite with the communities subject to the Vicar of that Province ", he says, but promised them to prevent any irregular separation from their Community. He, finally, warns them not to deviate from obedience to the prelates of their Order and from devotion to the Holy See, in order not to be seduced again by any one in the future [27].

The judgment rendered by the commission could not be carried out, before the Pontiff, who continued to claim the friars, should have ordered their degradation and given them up to the secular arm. Besides, there were but a few days left for the Seigniory to remain in office, and they wanted to retire quietly and left the case of Savonarola to be finished by their successors. Unfortunately for him, the new election returned into power the party of the " Arrabiati ", with Vieri de' Medici as Gonfaloniere [28].

The new Seigniory took up the matter of the friars, by calling for the 5th of May, a last meeting, to decide whether or not they should be surrendered to the Pope. The universal sentiment was that His Holiness should be requested to allow them to be executed in Florence, but should also be invited to send one or more commissaries that might examine them in what he desired to know [29].

The Magnificent lords wrote the same day to their ambassador Bonsi. They state their wish to gratify the Pontiff, who has at different times expressed to them his ardent desire to

27. See Document 130.
28. Villari, vol. II, p. 217.
29. Lucas, p. 382.

have the three friars in Rome, but they cannot neglect the peace and the universal desire of the Florentine people who, after being deceived by their lies so many years, want to see their execution, fearing that they might revive the evil, should they not have to die. Bonsi shall call on the Pope at once, and beg him to allow that the friars should be executed in Florence, so that the punishment may take place where the crime has been committed. In fact, so many believe yet in their holy lives, in spite of all their examination and confessions, that they will not change their opinion, unless they see their last end.—They evidently suspected that the Pope intended to spare Savonarola's life.—And we will also remark, they say, that it is not good nor convenient, especially at this time, that the affairs of our city be examined by any strangers. Since His Holiness has always expressed the wish to learn of other matters, we will respectfully remark that, if so, he can send or commission someone, who may act in his name, and hear what he thinks necessary to know. You shall ask His Holiness, as the greatest favor to our city, to allow them to be degraded, and ask him by whom, so that they may afterwards be executed by our ministers of justice, as their works have deserved it. Our intention is to follow the Pope's good pleasure for the consolidation of our own peace. From our Palace, May the 5th, 1498 [30].

The following day, the Seigniory wrote to the Pope himself. They first excused the tardiness of their letter, by saying that, when they last promised him a speedy answer, they had still to question Savonarola in regard to matters pertaining to the Republic, and this, together with the comparing with more certain testimonies, had taken more time than expected. And now the sentiments of the people are painfully disturbed, because on one side are the many letters of His Holiness

30. Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I. Append. Vol. VIII, p. 186.

demanding the same one thing, and on the other is the welfare and safety of the State. They, therefore, confidently beg that it may please His Holiness not to take away from them the author of so much evil, for the reason of undeceiving his dupes and of restoring peace in the city. They further repeat the disgrace and danger of letting him reveal to everybody what he knows of the affairs of the Republic. Moreover, the people greatly desire to be present at the punishment of one who has deceived them so many years. They finish by offering their help and assistance to any one, whom the Pope may send or appoint in order to learn from the Friar what he may desire to know, and to conduct the inquest in a legitimate manner, in accord with the dignity of the Church and the safety of the Republic. From our Palace, May the 6th, 1498 [31].

It is evident from both letters that the pontifical commissary would have no right to go over that part of the proceedings which related to Savonarola's political career, and upon which was based the sentence of death. He was granted the right only to examine him again on his life as an ecclesiastic, in order to find out whether he had deserved to be degraded and surrendered to the secular justice, as further appears from the official report of the pontifical deputies.

The request of the Seigniory seems not to be unreasonable, but implies a deviation from the letter of the law of ecclesiastical immunity. The Pope, therefore, took several days to consider the answer to be made, but, finally, consented.

On the 12th of May, pope Alexander VI named as his commissaries, Gioachin Turriano, Master General of the Dominican Order, who before this time, had favored Savonarola, and Francis Remolino, then Auditor of the governor of Rome. From their official report we learn that they were

31. Ibid., p. 188.

received with great honors by the Magnificent lords of Florence, who delivered to them the three friars for examination.

They had arrived the 19th, and on the 20th they commenced their labors in the presence of some of the Florentine officials [32]. After a respite of a month, Savonarola was taken away from the writing of his last pamphlet, to answer to his ecclesiastical examiners. After a very few questions, " postquam paucis admodum habitis quaestionibus ", he and his accomplices authenticated the rehearsal of their crimes and ratified their confessions. The pontifical commissaries then agreed on the allowance of their degradation and orally deprived the friars of all clerical privileges. They commenced and finished all their duties within the space of two short days.

On the 23d of May they sent their official report to Rome. This report is a scathing array of Savonarola's misdeeds and crimes, committed in his capacity of a Christian and of a priest, and mostly known already from the foregoing narrative [33].

To palliate the crushing indictment, the Friar's apologists either hide the document or belittle its significance by false accusations against Remolino, the less known of its authors. Lucas also [34] repeats some heartless sayings attributed to him, although he himself states them to be mere street-corner gossip and to be received with reserve. He ventures to say that " Remolino appears to have been a man of scandalous life ", and adds in a footnote that " Philipepi relates a shocking incident of his visit to Florence, with which we will not soil these pages. Unfortunately the affair seems to have been only too notorious ". But, such is the language of a prude calumniator, that allows the suspicion of any criminal immorality against a worthy and honorable prelate. He

32. Nardi, Istor. di Firenze, vol. I, p. 157.

33. See Document 131.

34. Girol. Savon., pp. 383, 384.

should have soiled his pages by the rehearsal of the incident, in order to expose the slander and refute it with the incredibility of its details.

Simon Giulian de Philipepi narrates, indeed, that as soon as Savonarola was arrested, many good people, " huomini da bene ", had to flee from Florence ; and he himself went at once to Bologna [35]. This proves him to have been one of the Friar's most ardent devotees, unwilling to live without him in his native place. He is an untruthful writer, for he tells [36] that all the doors of San Marco remained locked for two months, the friars could not say Mass nor go out to beg food, nor were they allowed to speak to anybody without special permission of the Seigniory, and other falsities of that sort. He asserts [37] that, to compel the friars to disband, they were united with convents of the neighborhood ; and that no one could carry or keep the red crosses of Father Girolamo, under pain of excommunication [38], together with ridiculous details. And so he goes on, in the following pages.

Philipepi is, moreover, inclined to resort to vile slander against any of his adversaries. He also accuses of immorality the Franciscan friar Pelli, who had offered himself to die in the ordeal of fire, in order to disprove the schismatical propositions of Fra Dominic da Pescia [39].

The same Philipepi relates this shocking incident : " The commissaries were received and feasted magnificently, as if they had been two cardinals. The first evening of their arrival in Florence ",—Remolino must have been in a hurry to declare himself a villain, before strangers—" the lord Jerome Martelli introduced, as a present, into Remolino's bedroom a beautiful girl of Florence, who was dressed like a boy, and

35. Archiv. Vatic., Varia Politicorum XLVII : Nota di alcuni particolari pertinenti al Padre fra Girolamo Savonarola di Ferrara, folio 403.
36. Ibid., f° 398.
37. Ibid., f° 399.
38. Ibid., f° 399vo.
39. Lucas, p. 334, footn. 2.

he kept her all the time that he remained here, and afterwards he took her with him to Rome "—a profligate at home and abroad—" where he keeps her to the present day, dressed in boy's clothes. But, before long she secretly fled away from him, and returned to Florence "—a cute and fearless girl, indeed—, " where she complained to some people of the wretch, Remolino "—after donning her petticoat again ?—" and revealed many of his rascalities, which she had noticed and seen at the time of Fra Jerome's arrest and prosecution " —although Remolino was quietly in Rome during that time—" and had also learned from him. But Jerome Martelli, hearing that she told the truth so nicely, spent so much money "—although he had no interest in Remolino any longer—" that he made her return to Rome "—all by herself and in a new pair of breeches, to renew the secret—" and sent her back to the venerable Remolino, "—who generously forgave and forgot her perfidious conduct !

Where, we ask, shall we find a reader so dull, not to notice the stupidities of such a tale ?

Lucas [40] asserts that " no one has put on record a single word in favor of Remolino ". To prove the injustice of this assertion and to answer the calumny of Philipepi, we may here add an extract from a letter of the Seigniory to the Pontiff, dated the 20th of May, 1498 : " Most Holy Father... We thank Your Holiness for all the services rendered us by Remolino. We admire and love him, he has attended to the whole affair with so much integrity, justice and judgment... Every one praises his virtue... Your Holiness has honored him by your choice, but he has honored himself much more by his virtue... We are certainly bound to him by lasting bonds of love, and should ever our prayers find any favor with You, we would recommend him to Your Holiness " [41].

40. P. 383.

41. Archiv. Stor. Italiano, ser. I. Append. Vol. VIII, p. 190.

Three days later, the Ten of Florence wrote in similar terms to ambassador Bonsi about Remolino [42].

In fact, he was a learned prelate who, for the integrity of his life and the fidelity to his duties, was advanced to the archbishopric of Sorrento and, on the 31st of May, 1503, was created a cardinal of the Church.

But why, the dishonest attempts at belittling the value of the report of the papal commissaries, by slandering one of these ? The document was written and jointly signed also by the other, Joachin Turriano who, as Superior of the Dominicans, would naturally have defended his subjects, had they been less evidently guilty. He was, indeed, as described in the chronicles of the Dominican Order, a man most sweet and humane, who governed his Order with all kindness and charity, who, good towards all the good, never molested anybody, except the wicked ; and, finally, ceased to live, to the universal sorrow of the whole Order, that complained of having lost a true father [43].

When, in the afternoon of the 22d of May, the papal commissaries had decided to deliver the three friars into the hands of the civil officials, the Florentine magistrates ordered at once to make ready, on the public square, whatever was needed for their execution, which was set for the following day. A Benedictine Father was sent to the convicts, and these made their last confession. The next morning Fra Jerome, Fra Dominic and Fra Silvester heard Holy Mass together in the palace chapel and, with permission of the pontifical representatives, Savonarola, after making a profession of faith and asking pardon of all the sins of his life and, in particular, of his offenses, temporal and spiritual, against

42. Ibid., p. 192.
43. Baluzius, Miscellan. ap. Mansi, t. IV, p. 522 or seq. ; Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 162.

the city and people of Florence [44], gave H. Communion to himself and his two companions.

Thus comforted, they silently walked to the place of their doom. Here Pagagnotti, bishop of Vaison, who happened to be in Florence, performed the sad ceremony of their degradation, in consequence of a brief of the 11th of May, by which the Pope had laid that duty upon him, provided it should be found necessary, for the sake of justice, to surrender them to the Secular Court. " Si ad degradationem et traditionem curiae seculari deveniendum erit, ne justitia deseratur " [45]. After this Remolino offered to them, in the Pope's name, a plenary indulgence, which they reverently accepted ; and they were then given over to the secular power. The Eight " di Guardia ", to whom belonged the right of judgment, ordered a resolution to be read to them by which they confirmed the sentence rendered by the commission selected for their examination. Finally, they were hanged to death, their corpses burned to ashes and their ashes carefully gathered and thrown into the Arno river, on the 23d of May, 1498 [46].

ARTICLE III. — GENERAL REMARKS ABOUT SAVONAROLA.

We were surprised at the remark with which Lucas concludes his narrative [47] of Savonarola's ignominious death : " All his errors and their consequences notwithstanding ", he says, " the Church and the world owe him a debt of gratitude ? " And what for ? we may ask. Should perchance

44. Munich, K. Staatsbibl. Cod. Lat. 962, f° 210 ; Villari, vol. II, p. 239.

45. From which we see it to be untrue that the Pope had sentenced them to death. The brief is in Ms. at the Venitian Library of St. Marc and ap. Perrens, Jérome Savon., p. 399.

46. Cappelli, in Atti e Mem... Moden. Vol. IV, pp. 318, 319 ; Nardi, Istor. de Firenze, vol. I, p. 159.

47. P. 439.

the Church thank him for his rebellion to all his ecclesiastical superiors, for his insults to her venerable Head, for his vilification of her clergy, for his deception of her faithful, for his efforts, partly successful in Florence, to cause both local and universal schism in the Church ? And what has the world to thank him for ? What great work did he initiate, or what new idea did he produce for the good of mankind ? A stubborn rebel to all spiritual authority, he was a slave and became a victim of civil power. He may have set a glorious example for Protestants but a Catholic will find, in his public life, nothing for which to praise him, but his zeal at the beginning of his ministry and his prayer for pardon on the morning of his death.

The German Reformation, Gregorovius says, could honor Savonarola as its precursor in matters of morality ; and, indeed, no Protestant has more violently slandered the Catholic and, in particular, the Roman clergy ; but, the historian adds, it could, for the rest, hardly find a weapon to borrow from his hands [48]. Yet he uttered more than one heretical error, afterwards held by Protestantism, such as the proposition of John Hus : that a Pope cannot validly forbid a preacher to announce the word of God [49]. He constantly submitted his teaching to the Roman Church, but this church was to him an invisible, not the real and living Church of Rome, that was long since destitute of a Supreme Head, pope Alexander VI being not even a Christian nor a believer in the existence of God !

The writings of Savonarola were, all of them, expurgated by a commission of the Council of Trent [50], and, besides his Dialogue on the Truth of Prophecy, fifteen of his sermons

48. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 416.
49. Balluzius, ap. Mansi, t. IV, p. 521.
50. Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I. Append. Vol. VIII, p. 201.

were placed on the Index of Forbidden Books. It may be noticed that St. Ignatius of Loyola would not allow any of his writings to be kept or read in the houses of the Society of Jesus [51].

If, however, Protestants glory in the teaching and behavior of Savonarola's last years, they should no less feel rebuked by his acts in the last hours of his life, when, freed from pride and mundane interest, he more lucidly saw the things of God and of eternity. He then reconciled himself with his Supreme Judge, made a profession of true faith, asked pardon of all whom he had injured, accepted a papal indulgence and died a repentant Catholic.

Many of Savonarola's acts and assertions cannot, objectively, be exculpated ; but his apologists draw their reader's attention away from them upon the pretended crimes and vices of the great Pontiff, who sustained, against him and his powerful temporal protectors, the purity of faith and the rights of the Church. A new system of defense has been, of late, added to the former. It is set forth that he was morally irresponsible, not a son of iniquity ; that he was a self-deluded man, a monomaniac convinced of his divine, prophetic mission, in spite of the authority of a divinely established Church. We shall not contest the possibility of partial insanity, but we shall remark that he was admitted by all his contemporaries to be most intelligent, sagacious and learned; that he was declared a cunning deceiver by those who knew him best, by his own brethren of San Marco ; and that he himself confessed his deceit. The vice of pride, of which we find him accused frequently, sufficiently accounts for his stubborn disobedience.

It is a remarkable fact that several members of the Dominican Order took up the defense of Savonarola. One of them,

51. Lucas, S. J., Girol. Savon., p. 441.

Ambrose della Robbia coined two medals in his honor [52]; in the sixteenth century, he was considered as a saint by the Dominicans who composed an " Officium proprium " for him [53]; lately, Father Bayonne O. P. wrote, for the purpose of his canonization, a work, the second volume of which was authoritatively denied publication, and J. L. O'Neil calls in doubt the evident fact of his excommunication. Would they not give proof of less prepossession and of more prudence, by following the opinion of a Sovereign Pontiff, who excommunicated Savonarola ; of their former Defensor, cardinal Oliver Caraffa, who blamed him ; of Joachin Turriano, their former Master General, who excommunicated, questioned and gave him over to his executioners ; of the former Dominican prelate, the Blessed Sebastian Maggi, who constantly opposed him ; of the large Dominican community of San Marco, who not only called him a deceiver but kept a certain Fra Benedetti closely imprisoned, because he continued to defend Savonarola [54] ; finally, of pope Leo XI, who, when archbishop of Florence, exiled the Dominican Bernard Castiglione, on account of his efforts to revive veneration towards Savonarola [55]. ?

But, they say, a coeval saint, St. Francis de Paula, wrote two letters to Savonarola, in which he higly praised him. To this we answer that the authenticity of these letters is contested [56], and should they be genuine, that the holy hermit was, like so many others, deceived by the Friar's hypocrisy. Should he actually have called Savonarola a saint and a friend of God, and have said that his ashes would work miracles yet [57]; we might answer that, as it is not all holy

52. Alfred Armand, Les Médailleurs Italiens du XVme et XVIme siècles, t. I, p. 105.

53. Capelli, in Atti e Mem.. . Moden. Vol. IV, p. 319.

54. Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I.

55. Ibid., p. 199, n. 2.

56. Ibid., p. 102.

57. Mansi, n. ap. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad an. 1498, no. XVIII.

what the saints have done, so it is not all true what the saints have said. Those words would prove only St. Francis' great charity and his appreciation of the good effects of Savonarola's preaching ; but we have to look still for the miracles worked through the ashes of the disobedient monk.

Mansi [58] continues to say that St. Philip of Neri knew by divine revelation that Savonarola's writings were not condemned as heretical ; but Raynaldi, who calls him a crafty monk, a hypocrite, a proud and audacious man, does not denounce him as a heretic. Nor could we approve of the way in which Mansi excuses the Friar's contempt of papal orders, or justifies his pretensions to the gift of prophecy.

They further allege the respectful confidence placed in him, after his death, by St. Catherine de' Ricci, the Blessed Columba of Rieti and St. Philip Neri. But they forget that the prayer of St. Catherine to him came very near making her lose the honor of her canonization. Happily was cardinal Lambertini, afterwards pope Benedict XIV, Promotor of the Faith at her Process, and declared that her private devotion could be and was sufficiently excused by the fact that Savonarola was said to have lived a pious life and had, in his last days, given evident signs of repentance, had accepted death with becoming Christian humility, and that, before and after he died, there had been talk of his sanctity [59]. The same may be said in excuse for the private devotions of the two other saints to him.

Finally, some panegyrists of Savonarola assure us that pope Benedict XIV named him as worthy of canonization [60]. This is, however a gross mistake. The name of " Savonarola ", like that of other personages, etc. is found in an

58. Ibidem.

59. Benedictus XIV. De Servorum Dei Beatificatione, Lib. III, Cap. XXV, no. 19.

60. Cantu, Réforme en Italie, Disc. XI, p. 471 ; Villari, Jér. Savon., French translation, t. 2, p. 442.

alphabetical Index at the end of that Pope's work, " De Servorum Dei Beatificatione ", added by the editor, for the simple purpose of referring the reader to the passages mentioning those names. That of " Savonarola " refers also to Chapter, no. 20, just indicated, where pope Benedict XIV, far from judging him worthy of a Saint's honors clearly states that, in his opinion, the " Postulatores " of St. Catherine's canonization had no reason for pretending that the Friar had been unjustly put to death.

Savonarola was not a saint, nor was he a Protestant martyr, he was an ardent politician and condemned on political grounds. He justly hated the example of immoraiity set before the Florentines by the ruling family de' Medici, and, after the expulsion of Piero de' Medici, he fought the introduction of an administration that could be held by a few lustful men of great power. He wanted the Republic to be governed by the people, and, in particular, by the people that, among the political parties of Florence, would more readily follow his directions. He succeeded for a length of time, but his political overbearing and his moral severity excited after a while the dissatisfaction and hatred of the other factions. It was soon evident that Savonarola's rule and his very life depended on the possibility of keeping down forever his increasing adversaries.

Yet, in vain did a friendly Seigniory declare him the only authorized preacher in Florence and, in fact, his sermons provoked more violent dissensions. In the year 1498, officials hostile to the Friar and to his party were elected, and soon, on the 23^{d} of May, the Eight " di Guardia " sentenced him to death, as a heretic, a schismatic and a contemnor of the Apostolic See, as the Ten wrote, that same day, to their ambassador, Bonsi. But they significantly added that, to the universal satisfaction of the people, he had undergone a punishment corresponding to his pernicious treasons or

political intrigues, " conveniente alle loro pestifere seditioni " [61]. Opposition to the party in power was the true reason of his condemnation. As an ecclesiastic, he had grievously offended ; but he was hanged and burnt as a defeated politician. Echard and Quétif [62] write that impartial judges consider Savonarola's death as inflicted, not because of heresy, but solely because of political reasons. Cantu [63] calls his death a murder, not religious but altogether political. The late Balan [64] says that he lost his life not through the license of his speech, but through the anger of the factions, that his death was not a punishment of his faults, but a vengeance of politicians.

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61. Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I. Append. Vol. VIII, p. 191.
62. Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum, t. I, p. 885. Ch. 3, p. 121.
63. Histoire Univers. Liv. XV. Ch. 3, p. 121.
64. Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 385.

CHAPTER X.

Alexander VI and Matrimony.

ARTICLE I. — MARRIAGE CASE OF LADISLAS, KING OF HUNGARY.

We have seen pope Alexander VI at work as a zealous reformer of abuses and a courageous defender of the supreme authority of the Catholic Church ; and yet, he himself stands accused by his enemies of trifling with, and violating, for temporal gain, her most sacred rules and the very laws of God, that govern one of her holiest sacraments [1] and prescribe the indissolubility of matrimony ; because, in fact, he confirmed the judicial sentences that declared a couple of marriages to have been contracted in spite of those laws and, consequently, to be null and void. He never severed the bond of a valid marriage, nor did he ever give a matrimonial dispensation, that was not long before recognized by canon law to be within his power to grant.

He acted with undisputed right when, considering the difficulties generally encountered by scions of royal or princely houses to find consorts of equal rank, and the great interest of peace and union, to be secured at times by marriage with relatives, he granted, on the 26th of June, 1493, at the request of the kings of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, permission for their children of either sex to marry any person related to them in the second or a further degree of consanguinity or affinity or by spiritual cognation ; provided the ladies should not have been abducted [2].

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1. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia Bd. I, s. 111.

2. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I, II, III, Lib. III. Regest. 869, fo 84vo.

On the 27th of the following month of July, the Pontiff, at the humble petition of the same queen, allowed her Grand Chaplain to dispense twenty young ladies serving at her court, for reasons of a similar nature, from the impediment of consanguinity or affinity in the third or fourth degree or of spiritual relationship, provided that they should not have acted as godmother of their proposed bridegroom and that no abduction should have taken place [3].

Pope Alexander VI granted another marriage dispensation on the 19th of February, 1496, namely, to the count Palatine, Louis, duke of Bavaria, and to the noble lady Elizabeth, also a descendant of the dukes of Bavaria, who were related in the second degree of consanguinity. The object was the consolidation of the hereditary states of the bride with those of the bridegroom, through which the division of the duchy itself should be prevented [4].

In a brief written, on the 22d of May, 1496, to the dowager duchess of Savoy, on the occasion of the sad death of her son, he told her that, at the request of her brother-in-law, who had succeeded to the duchy, he had granted to his first-born, the prince of Piedmont, the necessary dispensation to marry her daughter, in order to increase by this family alliance the satisfaction of the people and the peace of the two houses [5].

Pope Alexander VI also dispensed, as other Pontiffs did before and after him, in the second degree of collateral consanguinity, when he allowed Ferdinand II, king of Naples, to marry his father's sister, whereupon Sandini remarks [6] that some wondered thereat and others, in their ignorance, pretended it was illicit.

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3. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Copia di Brevi e Bolle di Aless. VI riguardanti la Spagna, f° 83.
4. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I ad X, Regest. 873, f° 253.
5. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXVIII 50, towards the end.
6. Vitae Pontiff. Roman., p. 507.

By these and similar dispensations the Pope provided for the validity of subsequent matrimonial contracts, and whenever he found an existing marriage to be free from invalidating impediments, he religiously respected and defended its bonds as indissoluble till death. Alexander, the Catholic duke of Lithuania and afterwards also king of Poland, had unlawfully married Helena, the schismatic daughter of the duke of Moscow. This union was most detrimental to religion, for Helena did all in her power to pervert her Catholic subjects. King Alexander himself asked the Pontiff what he could do to prevent further evil. Pope Alexander was dismayed, when learning how his hard labor for the conversion of the schismatics was thus hampered by the Queen's proselytism ; yet, his first word of answer was to declare the impossibility of a divorce, since both husband and wife were baptized Christians at the time of their marriage. All he did was to urge upon the King his duty of laboring for the conversion of his spouse, and, finally, to threaten the obstinate Helena with a judicial separation.

Gregorovius asserts[7] that pope Alexander VI dissolved, for political reasons, the marriage between Lucretia de Borgia and Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro. We shall not rehearse that subject here, but we refer our readers to our first volume, where we refute the calumny, and further give an instance of how very particular the Pontiff was in the observance of the most inquite requirements of canon law, even in regard to nuptials or promises of marriage.

The matrimonial contests of Ladislas, king of Hungary, and of the French monarch, Louis XII, have afforded to the enemies of pope Alexander VI the principal occasions to misrepresent and calumniate him. That political and temporal interests interfered with or entirely dominated these cases of

7. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 109.

Canon Law cannot be denied, but it is evident also that they influenced only the actors in the contestations, and did not sway in the least the decisions of the Pope nor of his appointed judges.

Sigismondo de' Conti, a contemporary historian, reports [8] that the king of Hungary was married first, as he himself asserted, with some Illustrious German lady ; and John Burchard, the German Master of Ceremonies, gives us some further interesting particulars of this marriage [9], when he says that Ladislas, to obtain more easily the kingdom of Bohemia, had, through a procurator, contracted solemnly an actual marriage, " per verba legitime de presenti, " valid before the Church, with the Illustrious Lady Barbara, daughter of the deceased Albert, marquis of Brandenburg, and widow of the late duke of Silesia.

Burchard continues to state that, after he had become king of Bohemia, the throne of Hungary became vacant through the death of Mathias, and Ladislas, desirous of being elected by the Hungarian princes, personally married, " per verba de presenti, " and consummated the marriage with Mathias's widow, the daughter of Ferdinand, king of Naples, and peacefully obtained the coveted crown. Sigismondo de' Conti relates that Beatrix testified to the intercourse, but varies from Burchard by saying that the former King's widow had transferred all her fortune and powerful influence to Ladislas, in the hope of marrying him [10].

Ortelius, an old chronicler, writes in the same manner [11] : " Uiadiszlaus, König in Böhem, ward durch hülff und beförderung der Witwe Königs Matthiae, so in hoffnung stunde sich mit ihm zu vermählen, aber nicht geschahe, zu einen König in Hungarn erwehlet ".

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8. Le Storie de Suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 280.
9. Diar., t. II, p. 33.
10. Ubi supra.
11. In his work, p. 7

Raynaldi expresses the latter's view, when he speaks of Ladislas's compact with Beatrix to contract marriage with her, if she should procure him the crown of Hungary [12]. Dubravius likewise quotes Beatrix as saying, that she had many witnesses to the King's promise by which he had bound himself to marry her [13].

However that may be, it is a fact upon which all authors agree, that no sooner had Ladislas attained the height of his ambition, than he disowned his former promises and repudiated his predecessor's widow, as being old and sterile.

Already before the coronation of pope Alexander VI, the king of Naples ordered his ambassador, Pontano, to expose to the Pope the treachery of the Hungarian king, and to request Ladislas' compulsory observance of his marriage with Beatrix of Aragon. The Pontiff, probably not acquainted with the circumstances, promised to send the bishop of Theano, Ursus Ursini, as a legate to Hungary to settle the difficulties; for which king Ferdinand profusely thanked him on the 21st of August, 1492 [14]. The legate was, indeed, sent after a short time, but he soon learned, Çurita says [15], from king Ladislas himself the fact of his former marriage with Barbara of Brandenburg. With the consent of this Lady, it was proposed to dissolve that first union, which was never consummated ; but the Pope was very anxious about this subject and slow to act ; because, as Çurita continues, granting the dissolution implied the acknowledgment of the former marriage as valid, and, consequently, the declaration to Beatrice's father, the king of Naples, and to her cousin, the king of Spain, that her marriage or espousals with Ladislas were null and void. On the other hand, he could not insist upon the

12. Ubi supra.
13. Hist. Bohemicae, Lib. 31, p. 257.
14. Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, vol. II. P. I, p. 156.
15. Hist. del Rey don Hernando, Lib. I. Cap. 23, f° 29.

king of Hungary, whose armies he needed to oppose the Turks, to contract a new and valid union with Beatrix, without offending him, which, he said, he would not do without a very just cause.

Towards the end of the year 1492, Ladislas sent to Rome his ambassador, the bishop of Nitracht, to obtain from the Pope the annulment of his marriage engagements and obligations towards Beatrix ; and was impudent enough to request the permission of marrying the sister of cardinal Ascanio Sforza. The hostile Infessura adds [16] that his petition was accompanied with the offer of many thousand ducats, and further asserts that pope Alexander VI was inclined to grant the dispensation. But we learn from a letter of the ambassador, Philip Valori, written the last day of February, 1493, to the Seigniory of Florence, that, informed as he was of the King's marriage with Barbara of Brandenburg, the Pontiff acted in quite the opposite way. The ambassador wrote the words which he had spoken to him, namely, that upon his advice, " conforti " and not " consorti, " the State of Milan had resolved not to enter into a family alliance with the king of Hungary and not to give him one more concubine, while he was keeping other ladies [17].

Queen Beatrix painfully underwent the failure of her fond expectations and sent letters of bitter complaint to her father, the king of Naples, together with a special agent, Messer Francisco de Montibus, who should defend her cause against the bishop of Nitracht, the ambassador of king Ladislas, before the court of Rome, where the question was discussed but not resolved at once [18]. De Montibus was in Naples with

16. Burchard, Diarium, t. II, p. 6: An admitted interpolation as is stated, ibid., p. 8, n. 1.

17. Thuasne, Burchardi Diarium, t. II, p. 636.

18. Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, vol. II. P. I, p. 235.

king Ferdinand on the 28th of December, 1492, and gave him a detailed account of the causes of his daughter's distress [19].

Ferdinand immediately wrote to his son, Frederic, who was in Rome, ordering him to assist the envoy of his sister, whether privately before the Pope or publicly before the Cardinals in consistory [20]. He introduced De Montibus to the cardinals, through another letter [21]. He requested the help of cardinal Caraffa, and sent a man to Spain, on the last day of the year, to beg the intercession of the Catholic Kings with the Pope [22] and wrote several more letters, for the purpose of preventing His Holiness from granting the dissolution of king Ladislas's engagements with the dowager queen Beatrix. Prince Frederic and De Montibus explained to the Pope their side of the case, in public consistory, on one of the first days of January, 1493 [23]; but, it seems, with no success, as, on the 29th of that month, Ferdinand complained of the fact that the Pontiff had sent a brief rather favorable to the king of Hungary [24].

This is the first reliable indication of the judgment of pope Alexander VI, that Ladislas could not marry Mathias's widow. Pastor, misled by Infessura, asserts [25] that, already on the previous 21st of December, the Pope had refused prince Frederic's request never to break the marriage promises made to his sister by king Ladislas. Herein he only makes a mistake, but he manifests his usual unfairness towards pope Alexander VI, when he gratuitously ascribes his alleged refusal, not to the dictates of his conscience and to his conviction in accord with canon law, but to political requital for a vicious intrigue of the king of Naples against the Pontifical State.

19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid., p. 259.
22. Ibid., p. 241.
23. Ibid., p. 251.
24. Ibid., pp. 260, 261.
25. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 293.

Ferdinand did not, however, abandon all hope. He sent a Doctor of Law to help De Montibus prove to the Roman court the equity of his daughter's claim [26] and made known her grievances to the princes of Italy [27]. On the 4th of February he thought that the Pope was in favor of the proposal of matrimony with a Milanese princess, made by Ladislas, who tried also by dint of money, he said, to obtain the dissolution of his union with Barbara, the sister of the marquis of Brandenburg [28]. He wrote begging again the co-operation of the kings of Spain and of the courts of Italy [29]. The Pope was importuned on all sides to jeopardize the laws of matrimony in favor of king Ferdinand's daughter, when, according to a dispatch of the 23d of February, 1492, from Philip Valori to the Eight of Florence, the cardinals of Naples and of Siena requested him not to treat with strict justice the queen of Hungary, who had evidently been deceived by the new King; but to grant her a brief as she desired. After long discussions, the Pontiff asked for time to reflect, but gave hopes that he would satisfy the king of Naples on this subject [30]. It appears from the sequel that the brief simply was a formal authorization for Beatrix to lay her claim against Ladislas before the regular Roman tribunals, although the Pope was thoroughly convinced that her marriage with him could never be permitted. On the 2d of March, 1493, the writing had been ordered and Ferdinand insisted every day on its expedition. Francisco de Montibus took it to Beatrix on the 8th of that month [31].

The lawsuit was formally introduced shortly after and frequently discussed, but the decision was repeatedly deferred, to the annoyance of both contending parties. Finally,

26. Ibid., p. 264.
27. Ibid., p. 267.
28. Ibid., p. 271.
29. Ibid., pp. 284, 295, 301, 303.
30. Thuasne, Burchardi Diar., t. II, p. 633.
31. Ibid., p. 640.

on the 1st of February, 1499, the cardinal of Siena read to the Sacred Consistory a letter from the Hungarian king, dated from Budapest on the 29th of June of the previous year, in which Ladislas complained of having to suffer so long his matrimonial troubles, without receiving any relief, either from Our Holy Lord or from the Sacred Consistory, although he had behaved, in that case, with all quietude and too much patience. He also set forth the merits of his kingdom and of his ancestors, and how easy it was to decide the controversy and how beneficial the termination of the case would be to both his kingdoms and to all Christianity. He insisted upon it, that there should be no further delay, or else he would become desperate and take care himself of his own welfare and of that of his kingdoms [32].

Pope Alexander VI did not deny the statements of the King and was urged to accord a final decision by the ambassadors of France and of Venice, who feared that otherwise Ladislas might conclude a treaty with the Turks [33]. Therefore, the Pontiff ordered two cardinals to examine the registers of the case, to hear the ambassadors of the King and to report to the consistory. After convincing himself again, through the relation of the proceedings, that he was right in his judgment, he braved the protest of the ambassadors of Naples and the objections of the orators of Spain, Germany and Milan, and gave his sentence in writing, at the consistory of the 3d of April, 1500. He decided that the pretended marriage between the illustrious king of Hungary and the Illustrious lady, the daughter of Ferdinand of Naples and widow of Mathias, king of Hungary, was null and in fact only a presumption. He denied to Beatrix any further appeal and condemned her

32. Acta Consistor., ap. Rome. Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXVI 10, f° 39.

33. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 32, n. 1.

to pay twenty-five thousand ducats, as costs of litigation [34]. Ant. Malegonnelle knew, from hearsay, that king Ladislas lavished, on this occasion, more than thirty-thousand ducats upon the Pope and the judges [35] ; but his imputation is all the more incredible, since, as we shall report later on, pope Alexander VI was, just then, sending every year to the king of Hungary all the moneys that he was able to gather, as a needed subsidy in his war against the Turks.

Sigismondo de' Conti correctly expresses the decision with this laconic sentence : " It was declared that Ladislas was not obliged to marry a second time, as long as married once " [36].

Meanwhile Ladislas regretted long since to be married once, namely with Barbara, the widow of the duke of Silesia, whom he accepted as wife to secure for himself the throne of Bohemia, rather than the noble dowager. When his lawsuit had now been definitely decided in Rome, he formally applied to the Pope for the dissolution of his former marriage ; that was valid, it is true, but never consummated, and, therefore, practically dissoluble by a pontifical decree. Lady Barbara seems to have reciprocated the indifference of her husband, for she interposed no objection to his request. Nor could the Pope well refuse the favor to his powerful champion against the fiends of Christianity, who had already his eyes fixed upon a more genial companion, a princess of the house of France. The historian of king Ferdinand of Spain, in union with the feelings of his disappointed hero, assures us that this concession to Ladislas entailed much blame upon the Pontiff, who, he adds, received for it a great sum of money, if we can believe what they say, " segun escriven " [37]—and this,

34. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 32 ; Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad an. 1492, n° XXXII.

35. Burchard, ibid., n. 1.

36. Le Storie de' Suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 280.

37. Çurita, Hist. del Rey don Hernando, lib. 4. Cap. 5, f° 180.

in fact, from a King assisted in his need with the money of that same Pontiff.

The king of Hungary finally married Anna, surnamed de Gandala, by Dubravius [38], Raynaldi [39] and Ranke [40]; and called de Foix, by Mariana [41].

ARTICLE II. — DIVORCE AND NEW MARRIAGE OF LOUIS XII, KING OF FRANCE.

Principally the more recent enemies of pope Alexander VI have also profited by the divorce of the French king, Louis XII, from Jeane de Valois, and by the pontifical dispensation allowing his marriage with Anna of Brittany, to bring disgrace upon the Borgias by their writings, and to accuse the Pope of the crime of simony. Machiavelli [42] saw the fulfilment of an obligation, assumed by Louis XII, on the occasion of his divorce, in the assistance which, two years later, he lent to Cesar de Borgia, in subduing some of the Pope's rebellious feudatories in Romagna; although his manifest intention was to protect the honor of the Church and to disable these proud Lords to bring help to his own enemy, the duke of Milan, whose near relatives many of them were. The unreliable Gordon asserts [43] that Louis XII consented to try and procure for Cesar de Borgia the hand of Charlotte, daughter of the king of Naples, provided the Pontiff should, in return, grant him, among other favors, the dissolution of his marriage with Jeane, who was, he says, sterile and horribly ugly; and permission to marry Anna, duchess of Brittany and widow of his predecessor, Charles VIII. Bo-

38. Hist. Bohemicae, Lib. 31, p. 257.
39. Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1492, no. XXXII.
40. Geschichten, s. 139.
41. Hist. d'Epagne, t. V, p. 299.
42. Il Principe, Cap. 3, p. 27.
43. Alexander VI, t. I, p. 289.

wer [44] copies Gordon, but, more sensibly, names Charlotte d'Albret instead of Charlotte d'Aragona. Moreri [45] and Cantu [46] express the same calumny but in milder terms, while Pastor likewise assures us [47] that the Pope granted to Louis XII his dispensation to marry Anna of Brittany, but, as compensation, claimed the elevation of his pet, Cesar de Borgia. So also, according to Symonds [48], Alexander bargained with Louis, promising that he would dissolve his marriage, provided the monarch would take Cesar de Borgia under his protection.

Here we encounter once more the fallacious logic applied by Pastor, when he pretends to prove that pope Alexander's election was simoniacal. The king of France bestowed great favors upon Cesar de Borgia ; consequently, he had bargained with the Pontiff to bestow them upon him, for the permission to marry Anna of Brittany ! Not one of those writers affords any document to prove a simoniacal agreement. It is a fact, on the contrary, that the Pope named, on the 30th of July, 1498, his commission to examine the invalidity of the King's marriage, before he knew whether the Sacred Consistory would consent to the laicization of cardinal Cesar de Borgia, which eventually took place on the 17th of the following month, thus enabling him to receive the liberalities of the French king. Nor had Louis XII any assurance of his desired divorce and new marriage, when he overloaded Cesar with honors and revenues, as soon as the latter was able to accept them ; even before his departure for France, when he was already made Duke of Valentinois [49].

We can easily imagine how, after twenty-five years of suffering from a detested union, king Louis XII must have

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44. History of the Popes, vol. 3, p. 270.
45. Diction. Art. Borgia.
46. Histoire Univers. Liv. XV. Ch. 3, p. 123.
47. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 414.
48. Renaissance in Italy, p. 319.
49. Pastor, Geschichte der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 417.

been ready to act liberally towards the beloved nephew of a Pope, from whom he was expecting relief and happiness. Or was not the King's munificence towards the nephew a shrewd course of action to mitigate, as it actually did, the uncle's intimated opposition to his plans of acquiring the duchy of Milan ? Whatever may have been the reasons or intentions of Louis XII, it is evident that pope Alexander VI, unbiased by his largesses, strictly followed law and justice in the matter of his divorce, and granted him a marriage dispensation for motives which, then as now, would have disposed any Pope not to refuse it.

It is hardly worth while to notice that a certain Biagio Buonaccorsi, a clerk in the office of the secretary of the " Ten of War " in hostile Florence, asserts [50] that " the Pope received thirty-thousand ducats from the Most Christian King, on account of his dispensation, but under the pretext of needing a larger guard to protect him against the enemies whom he had made by giving the dispensation, and thereby declaring himself a Frenchman ! If the falsehood were not self-evident, we would quote against it the testimony of the more valuable historian of that time, Sigismondo de' Conti, who expressly states [51] that Louis XII easily obtained and without paying any money the desired permission to marry.

The plain history of the case is as follows : When king Louis XII was duke of Orleans, eleven years old and an orphan under the care of his mother, Mary de Clèves, Louis XI, then king of France, compelled with dire threats the noble widow, to marry her son with his daughter, Jeane of France or de Valois, who was related to her child-husband in the fourth degree of consanguinity, and unfit for matrimonial duties. This marriage was null and void also because no dispensation had been obtained in the nullifying impedi-

50. Diario de' Successi piu importanti seguiti in Italia, p. 10.

51. Le Storie de' Suoi Tempi, t II, p. 201.

ment of their consanguinity, nor in the diriment impediment of spiritual relationship, arising from the fact that Louis XI had been the duke's godfather at baptism. When the duke had attained the age of puberty, king Louis ordered him, under pain of death, to renew his marriage contract with the same princess Jeane ; but again without dispensation in those impediments. At the demise of Jeane's father and the accession of her brother, Charles VIII, the duke of Orleans ran away from his pretended wife to the duchy of Brittany, but was arrested and cast into prison, for a term of about three years. When, finally, set free, he went to live with Jeane for about twenty-five or twenty-six years ; but never consented in his mind to take her as his wife. As soon as Charles VIII was dead, and thus all fear and compulsion had come to an end, he at once objected to his former marriage [52]. Indeed, about the 14th of June, 1498, there arrived in Rome a special ambassador of king Louis XII, who humbly requested the Pope to declare his marriage invalid, and to procure him what he needed under the present circumstances.

On the 30th [53] of July, 1498, pope Alexander VI appointed a judiciary commission, to consist at first of Louis d'Amboise, bishop of Albi, and of Ferdinand de Almeida, bishop of Ceuta in Africa [54]. He ordered them to proceed by themselves conjointly, to call before them Jeane of Valois and all others who had a right to be called, and carefully to take information in regard to each of the four diriment impediments alleged against the validity of the King's marriage : Consanguinity, spiritual relationship, violence and fear, and impotency. Should it be legally established that either one of the two former impediments did exist and no dispensation had been

52. See Document 132.

53. Tertio Kalendas Augusti : Not the 29th, as Pastor states. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 414.

54. Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia, t. XVIII, p. 405.

granted, or that either of the two latter was real and lasting, then it would be the commissioners' duty to declare, with apostolic authority, that the marriage between king Louis XII and Jeane de Valois had been and was null and void; and to sanction, under pain of ecclesiastical censures, the observance of their award ; furthermore, in that case, they were to give the King full liberty of taking for wife any other woman, that he could marry according to law [55].

The suit was introduced, on the 30th of August, in the city of Tours, by Anthony Scanno, the king's procurator, who showed the bloodrelation by means of a genealogical tree [56].

He stated that Louis XII had publicly reclaimed against his marriage and had, therefore, been cast into prison ; that his letters to the Pope had been intercepted and caused him ill treatment from king Charles VIII, and that Jeane de Valois had admitted impotency [57].

Lady Jeane had no desire to prolong her cohabitation with the King, but considered in her duty to act in defense of the indissolubility of matrimony, by objecting to the king's procurator, and stated that, if dispensation had been needed it had been obtained, that she was not impotent and had often been known by the king ; but deprecated the humiliation of a surgical investigation [58].

Pope Alexander VI, considering in the meantime the extreme importance of the case, joined, on the 31st of August, to the appointed commissioners, also cardinal Philip of Luxemburg, bishop of Le Mans, commanding that, for greater security,

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55. See Document 132.

56. Charles V, King of France.
Charles VI, King,
Charles VII, King,
Louis XI, King,
Jeane of France or de Valois
Louis I, Duke of Orleans,
Charles I, Duke,
Louis XII, Duke and King of France
Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds fr. Cod. 20177, fo 408vo.

57. Ibid. Cod. 2711, fo 6vo.

58. Ibid., fo 8vo.

he together with them and they with him should take all further cognizance of the cause and come to its decision [59]. The three judges, to answer to the solicitude of the Sovereign Pontiff, assumed for assessors William, cardinal of Rheims ; Tristan, archbishop of Sens ; Geoffroy, bishop of Le Puy ; Charles, bishop of Castres ; Geoffroy, bishop of Constance ; Renatus, bishop of Chartres ; Stephen Paicher and John Raoulin, presidents of Inquests at the Parliament of Paris ; P. le Secourable and other Doctors of Theology, and Mando de la Marthonie, a Licentiate of Law [60]. The officials of several bishops were also authorized by the three judges to take the depositions of witnesses residing in their dioceses [61]. Yet, on the 2d of October, the Pope excused from the further examinations the bishop of Ceuta, whose assistance was considered as necessary to the duke of Valentinois, who was to arrive in France [62].

We have no space for the details of the discussions of the lawsuit ; suffice it to say that they were long and minute. The folio Codex 2711, Fonds français, of the National Library of Paris, 219 folios, rectos and versos, is filled with the reports of the proceedings [63].

On the 17th of December, 1498, the procurator of Lady Jeane de Valois declared that he had nothing more to say and that he had confidence in the conscience of the judges that justice would be done. Thereupon, the solemn sentence was read, namely, that the marriage between the contestants, the validity of which had been debated in this action, was not and is not binding, is null and of no weight, obligation or effect, and does not prevent the plaintiff in this suit from contracting a valid marriage with another woman ; to do so

59. See Document 133.
60. Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds fr. Cod. 20177, f° 408.
61. Ibid. Cod. 2711, f° 29.
62. Ibid., f° 62vo.
63. The Codex 5974, Fonds latin, is a neat copy of the pleadings and of the sentence.

we grant and give him, the judges added, with apostolic authority, full permission, for the causes and reasons told in the proceedings ; and we exempt the Lady defendant from paying any costs, damages or loss [64].

This sentence was read and promulgated, on the following day, in the parochial church of St. Denis in Amboise by the Very Reverend Fathers the Lords Philip, cardinal of Luxemburg, bishop of Le Mans, and the Bishops Louis of Albi and Ferdinand of Ceuta, the judges delegated by Our Lord the Pope ; in the presence of many bishops, noblemen and people [65]. It was unanimously approved, without a single exception, by thirty-three doctors : ten of Theology, ten of Canon Law, ten of Civil Law and three counsellors [66].

Lady Jeane de Valois received the verdict with joy. In her objections she had been moderate and respectful towards her lord the King, and on the 26th of December, 1498, Louis XII bestowed upon her the duchy of Berry, whose revenues enabled her to institute the religious Congregation of the Annunciation. She died a saint on the 4th of February, 1504 [67].

We fail to see how Alexander VI may have merited any reproach on the occasion of the divorce of Louis XII, since he took no part in it, except by duly appointing the judges ordering them to carefully conduct the inquest and to decide the case strictly according to law and justice. Nor is he to blame on account of the king's subsequent marriage.

The ambassador of Louis XII had manifested his master's intention to marry Anna, the duchess of Britanny and widow of the late king Charles VIII, should he be granted the ex-

64. See Document 134.
65. Ibid. Fonds fr. Cod. 2711, fo 105vo.
66. Ibid. Fonds Lat. Cod. 12554, f° 15 ; Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXVI 7, f° 10.
67. Dion. Samarthanus, Gallia Christiana, t. II, p. 92.

pected separation from Lady Jeane de Valois ; and whilst the case was in process the king admitted having asked dispensation to marry her [68]. The peace and unification of the French kingdom, to be secured by the projected union, were grave reasons set forth to obtain a dispensation in an impediment resulting from a distant degree of some kind of relation between the intended spouses. The Pope could not refuse him a common favor.

On the 13th of September, 1498, when the nullity of the former marriage had already become apparent, the Pontiff wrote a private brief to Louis d'Amboise, bishop of Albi, ordering him, in case that the King's union with Lady Jeane should actually prove to be invalid, to grant him license to marry Anna of Brittany, although they should otherwise be prevented by any affinity or consanguinity, even to the second degree [69].

To villify the Borgias, the story has been fabricated, rather clumsily, that Cesar de Borgia, on his visit to France, was the bearer of the regular bull of dispensation, but did not surrender it at the proper time, in the expectation of more favors from the French king for the promise of its early delivery ; but Louis XII, it is said, married before its publication, pretending that its issue was sufficient [70].

Nic. Machiavelli [71] is the originator of this calumny. He even asserts that Cesar's intended trickery had been suggested by the Pope himself. But the falsity is made evident by the fact that the Pontiff had sent the bull of dispensation to the bishop of Albi, who made use of it in due time. The grant of this dispensation was, moreover, publicly known, as appears from a dispatch, in which Manfredi, the Ferrarese

68. Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds fr. Cod. 2711, f° 97.
69. Dion. Samarthanus, Gallia Christiana, t. I, f° 35.
70. Daru, Histoire de Venise, t. IV, p. 71. n.
71. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 53.

ambassador in Florence, speaks of it already on the 2d of October, 1498.

Machiavelli tells another untruth, when asserting that the Florentine ambassadors relate that Almeida, the bishop of Ceuta, was put to death by order of Cesar de Borgia, who soon learned that his cunning design had been revealed by him to the king of France. In fact, the bishop of Ceuta did not die either then or in France ; but only two years later, before Forli, where he had followed Cesar, as an intimate friend [72]. The chroniclers of Forli speak of this bishops's death and describe his funeral [73].

It is recorded that Cesar carried the red hat for George d'Amboise, and remitted it on the 21st of December, but we found no mention made in the copious Parisian or other registers of a bull of dispensation confided to his care. On the contrary, it is clearly stated that, " after the promulgation of the sentence of nullity of marriage, certain letters were read emanating from the Holy Father, Alexander VI, and the apostolic See, making mention of the dispensation in consanguinity, affinity, spiritual relationship and public honesty, existing between the Most Illustrious King and the duchess Anna, to the effect that the said Most Illustrious King and Anna, the Most Illustrious Queen, could lawfully contract marriage, notwithstanding the said impediments. The lord bishop of Albi also said that he had lawfully dispensed and does dispense with the said King and the said duchess Anna, so that they can be united in matrimony, notwithstanding the above said impediments, and this by authority of certain apostolic letters directed to him privately, set forth and publicly exhibited at a function of the said lord bishop of Albi, on the 7th of January, 1499 " [74].

72. Ibid., p. 54.
73. Ibid., n. 2.
74. Paris, Bibl Nation., Fonds fr., Cod. 23935, f° 4.

After this announcement the King and the Duchess signed the civil marriage contract drawn up by a notary public ; and the following day, January 8th [75], the marriage took place in the city of Nantes, before the bishop of Albi, in the presence of the two cardinals, della Rovere and d'Amboise, and of a great number of the hierarchy and of the nobility of the kingdom [76].

Çurita makes the remark [77] that king Louis did not care to wait for the papal confirmation of the sentence of nullity to arrive. Çurita did not know that the Pope was not to confirm that sentence at all, after he had ordered the judges to declare him free to marry again, and had for this given him sufficient dispensation.

Of payments of money to the Pope, or of any other temporal compensation there is not a word in the records and original documents regarding the dispensation or the marriage.

Theiner [78] informs us that pope Alexander VI dissolved a third incompleted marriage. John Corvinus, the illegitimate son of Mathias, king of Hungary, had received large estates and the promise of succeeding to his father. With this anticipation he had, by proxy, married the Milanese princess, Blanca Maria Sforza ; but, when disappointed by the election of Ladislas to the kingdom, they both applied to the Pope for the severance of their marriage, which had never been consummated. The Pontiff made use of his ordinary power and granted their request, because of the changed circumstances and the danger of disturbances that usually follow regretted nuptials.

It may be here the place to notice that Gordon attributes

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75. Paris, Archives Nation., Cod. K. 77, n. 8.

76. Ubi supra, Cod. 23935, f° 8.

77. Hist. del Rey don Hernando, Lib. 3. Cap. 34, f° 160vo.

78. Documenta Hungarica, p. 540, from Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I, II, III. Lib. III, f° 100.

to pope Alexander VI [79] certain papers, dispensing a nun, the legitimate heir of the late king of Portugal, to marry that King's bastard son. It is a fact, however, that these very papers proved to become the undoing of Bartholomew Florido or Fleury, an archbishop of Cosenza. Upon the complaints made by the ambassadors of Spain, as related by Gordon, the pretended papal bulls were found to be forgeries. Florido, who was also a papal secretary, was suspected, examined and found guilty of having issued this and three thousand more false bulls and briefs. He was degraded and confined in the fortress of Sant' Angelo for the rest of his life [80].

79. Alexander VI, t. I, p. 274.

80. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 405.

CHAPTER XI.

Alexander VI promoting piety.

ARTICLE I. — TOWARDS THE BLESSED SACRAMENT AND THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

The preservation and propagation of the pure doctrine of Christ and the maintenance of the moral precepts of holy religion were not the only objects of the zealous labors of pope Alexander VI. He also endeavored in various ways to promote a filial service of God and a cheerful practice of virtue and piety.

Thus, by his extraordinary example, he stimulated the faithful to reverence the Blessed Sacrament ; for it is related that, on some of his journeys, he had the Sacred Host, surrounded with burning candles, borne in procession in front of him, as on his protracted excursion to the cities of the Patrimony, at the end of the year 1493; and in July, 1494, on his journey to Vicovaro, where, at night, he placed the Holy Host in the tabernacle of the local church [1]. He habitually carried secretly with him in a golden pyx the Holy Eucharist [2], thus really " walking with God " [3].

In the preamble of one of his bulls, he thus addressed the Christian people : " We ought to venerate with the greatest devotion our glorious Lord Jesus Christ and the Memorial of his most Sacred Body, that wipes away sin and opens the way to everlasting bliss. We, who, although without sufficient merits, occupy the place of the same Jesus Christ on

1. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 180, seq.; Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad. An. 1494, no. XX.

2. Moroni, Dizion. Art. Valenza, p. 261.

3. Genesis, V. 22.

earth, We invite, through the grant of indulgences and remission of penance, the faithful of Christ to devotion and veneration of this so great a Sacrament, so that they may be better prepared for the reception of divine grace." Permission had been asked from him to make a monthly procession of the Blessed Sacrament in the parochial church of Corpus Christi in the town of Byecz of the diocese of Cracow, in order to add to the splendor of divine worship, to instill devotion into the people and to increase the means of their salvation. He answered, on the 25th of June, 1501, that, desiring to win over to God the soul of every Christian, he allowed for all time to come, to the rector and beneficiaries of that church to make with all solemnity and reverence, in the church and the adjoining graveyard a procession with the most Sacred Host, once a month, on any Thursday of their choice; and, moreover, he encouraged the assistance at the pious function, by granting a special indulgence to all who would be present [4].

He also encouraged the more frequent reception of Holy Communion. To this end he gave, on the 24th of November of the same year, a plenary indulgence to the members of the Military Order of Calatrava, who should, according to their rules, receive Our Lord in his Holy Sacrament, at one of their churches, on the feasts of Easter, Pentecost and Christmas [5].

Mindful of the souls suffering in Purgatory, he encouraged, on the 20th of March, 1498, the institution of two chaplaincies and of a confraternity, whose main object it would be to relieve and deliver those Poor Souls, by offering for them the suffrages of prayer and good works, and principally by

4. Theiner, Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuan., t. II, p. 291, from Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 868. Alex. VI. Secret. An. VIII ad XI. Lib. II, f° 36.

5. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Copia di Brevi e Bolle di Aless. VI riguardanti la Spagna, f° 158vo.

offering or having offered for them the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. He conferred upon its members great indulgences and other privileges [6].

We should here incidentally notice a remark made by Sandini [7]. After pointing out the self-refuted accusation, that pope Innocent VIII allowed H. Mass to be said in Norway without wine, because the intense cold would turn it into vinegar, this author says that it is not any better proved what Bartholomew Fumus relates, from vague rumors, that, namely, pope Alexander VI was inclined to allow the consecration of bread alone, in places where wine could not be had, till he was informed of his inability to dispense in the essentials of the Sacraments. But, is it possible to believe that a highly learned Pontiff was ignorant of such rudiments of theology? Moreover, a place where no wine could be obtained and was not used, must have been outside of Christendom. Finally, as a matter of fact, no allusion is made anywhere to a paper, bull or brief, of either of those two Popes granting such dispensations.

Pope Alexander VI was for all Christians a model of piety towards the Blessed Virgin Mary. In his private correspondence, he speaks of her in terms of confidence and thankfulness, as he does in his misinterpreted letter to his niece, Lucretia de Borgia; where, in a few lines, he finds occasion to mention her three different times: confiding in her for the restoration of the health of cardinal Farnese and of his sister Julia; thanking her for his own well-being, and recommending Lucretia to pray assiduously to her [8]. In his official acts, he improves every occasion to sing her praises or to express his love and veneration towards her; as he

6. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar., An. VII, t. LI, Regest. 822, f° 171.

7. Vitae Pontiff. Roman., p. 504.

8. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 75.

does in his approval of St. Jeane de Valois's new religious Congregation, in which he protests the sentiments of deep affection which he has always fostered towards the Mother of God [9]. He manifested his love for her by frequently visiting her church of Santa Maria del Popolo, to which he donated an organ, and where many times he celebrated H. Mass, at the altar that he had erected, when yet a cardinal [10]. In his needs and dangers he put his confidence in her. Thus he made a vow to the Blessed Virgin, venerated in Florence under the title of the Annunciation, when he was threatened with the arrival of Charles VIII of France ; and, when that King was driven out of Italy, he offered a very artistically chiseled statue of himself to be suspended before her image, where it was yet to be seen at the end of the seventeenth century [11]. In his great reliance on the Blessed Mother of God, the Pontiff ascribed to her protection his safety from any accident or peril. When the news reached Rome, on the 27th of December, 1492, that Ferdinand, king of Spain, was getting better after being dangerously wounded by a rustic visionary, the Pope gave orders to sing, on the 29th, a solemn Mass of thanksgiving, in honor of the Blessed Virgin, in the chapel of Our Lady of Fevers, at which he assisted himself with his entire court [12]. In a like manner he ordered H. Mass to be chanted on the 24th of November, 1499, to thank the Blessed Mother for his own escape from the danger of being poisoned. Catherine Sforza, countess of Forli, when besieged by Cesar de Borgia, had confided to a certain Thomasius, a Forlivese, a letter to be handed to the Pope, in a vial filled with volatile poison, that, if opened without precaution, would undoubtedly have caused death.

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9. Archiv. Secret Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. VIII ad XI. Lib. II. Regest. 868, f° 69.

10. Moroni, Dizion. Art. Valenza, p. 289.

11. Oldoinus, Addit. ad Ciaconium. Vitae Roman. Pontiff, p. 161.

12. Burchard, Diar., t. II, pp. 28, seqq.

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Thomasius, however, excited suspicion by his peculiar endeavors to meet the Pope, was examined and confessed the intended crime [13]. On the 27th of June, 1500, pope Alexander VI miraculously escaped another grave danger of death, when a huge chimney of the Vatican was blown down by a furious windstorm and, falling through the roof, broke two joists of the upper rooms, killing there three men, and then fell to the floor of the lower story, snapping off a girder, the ends of which fortunately remained fastened in the walls. The Pope was just then sitting under a canopy attached to the wall under the girder, while the broken beam hanging down, diverted the falling debris to the middle of the room, and the Pope, although stunned, escaped with a few scratches and bruises. He again attributed his safety to the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary and had a H. Mass offered in her honor on the 2d of July, the feast of her Visitation. Moreover, on the 25th, he went in solemn procession to thank her in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, where he prayed before her altar and made an offering of about three hundred ducats [14].

All those and other public acts of the Pontiff's devotion to the Mother of God had made such an impression upon the members of the Roman court, that no ornament was found more appropriate for his monumental grave, than the chiseled representation of the Virgin Mother with her divine child [15].

In several of his bulls and briefs, pope Alexander VI held forth her titles to the esteem and confidence of all Christians and, by various means enticed them to venerate and love her.

13. Burchard, ibid., pp. 578, 579.—Sanuto calls in doubt the dastardly attempt, but is confirmed by Pietro Delphini and by a papal brief of the 21st of November, addressed to the Florentine Seigniory, in which Catherine is called a daughter of perdition. Ibid., p. 579, n. 1 and 2.

14. Burchard, ibid., t. III, pp. 65, seq., 69, seq.; Victorelli ad Ciaconium, Vitae Roman. Pontiff. p. 155.

15. Ciaconius, Vitae Roman. Pontiff., last page.

He issued, on the 19th of May, 1493, the following remarkable document : " Alexander VI etc. To all Christians who shall see these present letters Health and Apostolic Blessing. When in our pious meditations We try to discover all the eminent virtues and surpassing merits, through which the glorious Queen of Heaven and Virgin Mother of God, resplendent on her heavenly seat, beams forth like the morning star; or when in the stillness of our heart We reflect how she, as the Mother of mercy and the Mother of grace, the Lover of piety and the Consoler of mankind, ceases not to pray and to intercede night and day, with the King whom she bore, for the salvation of the faithful, who are bent under the heavy weight of their misdeeds ; then We consider it as becoming, or rather as our duty, to favor the chapels, dedicated to the honor of her most holy name, with the grants of pardon and the bestowal of indulgences. " Thereupon, with the express intention of attracting in great numbers the faithful to the chapel of her Annunciation, recently built by cardinal Caraffa in the church of the Minerva in Rome, he granted, for every year of all future time, a plenary indulgence to all who, having made a sincere confession, would, as he had done himself, piously visit the said chapel, within the space of time from the first Vespers of the feast of her Nativity till sunset of the following day [16].

The Pontiff enriched many other shrines and altars built in honor of the Mother of God, with bulls of indulgences in favor of her pious servants; but may it suffice here to notice how he also encouraged the people of Wilna, in distant Lithuania, to pray to the Blessed Virgin and to show their veneration to her, by granting, on the 15th of May, 1501, an indulgence of twenty years and of so many quarantines, to be gained by all who, having confessed, would, on certain festive

16. See Document 135.

days, visit her chapel in the cathedral and make an offering towards its ornamentation [17].

By a bull of the 5th of February, 1493, pope Alexander VI established a new feast of the Holy Virgin Mary, to be celebrated in the city and diocese of Valencia, for all time to come, on the third Sunday after Easter ; namely, the feast of the Apparition of Our Lord to his Blessed Mother after his resurrection. The nobleman Bernardo Dassio had agreed with the cathedral Chapter to defray all incidental expenses, and the Pope, protesting the great devotion which he had always felt and was feeling still towards the same Virgin, allowed the Chapter to make all regulations to be observed on that occasion. As an encouragement of the people to keep the solemnity, he granted to all participants an indulgence of seven years and seven quarantines [18].

It was also pope Alexander VI who first allowed, in the year 1499, the celebration of the feast of the Presentation of the holy child Mary in the temple, and who raised the octaves of all her other festivities to the rank of a " Minoris Duplicis " [19].

One of his brief recites how, according to a pious belief, an image of the Blessed Virgin had been washed by the waves of the sea upon the side of the barren mount Philermo in the island of Rhodes. An oratory had been erected to receive it, and many miracles took place therein, through the merits and intercession of the Advocate of mankind, the Mother of Our Lord Jesus Christ. A fort and cottages had also been built for the protection of the chapel and for the accommodation of the pilgrims who flocked to it in great numbers, day after day. But at this time, the sanctuary and adjoining buildings

17. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. V. Secret. An. VIII ad XI. Lib. II, Regest. 868, fo 50vo.

18. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Bull. Div. An. I. T. I, Regest. 879, fo 85vo.

19. Fr. Nic. Glassberger, Chronica, p. 521.

were in a state of decay and had partly fallen into ruins, in consequence of age and of an earthquake. Cardinal Peter d'Aubusson, Grand Master of the Knights of St. John, asked permission of pope Alexander VI to rebuild the chapel and its dependencies. The Pontiff gladly consented and further approved his intention of making of it again a well appointed place of pilgrimage, by attaching to it a laic and four priested Knights, who should daily recite the canonical office before the miraculous image, say Holy Mass and attend to the needs of the pilgrims. He issued a brief to that effect on the 19th of April, 1494 [20].

In A. D. 1495, the Pope had granted an indulgence to the faithful of Spain who should help the Catholic King in subduing the Moors of Africa and had suspended all other indulgences. Yet, for fear that the veneration of the Blessed Virgin might thereby be impaired, he issued on the 7th of July of that same year, a bull by which, making a single exception, he declared that all indulgences, granted before to devotions in honor of her in St. Mary's cathedral of Valencia, should continue in their former force and efficacy [21].

From a letter of the cardinal of Siena, Francis Piccolomini, to the guardian of the Franciscan Observantine convent of Magdeburg, dated the 30th of November, 1497 [22], we learn that pope Alexander VI was accustomated to encourage by special indults the recitation of the Holy Rosary, and issued an edifying bull to that effect [23].

He also was, in part at least, the originator of the devout custom of saying the " Angelus " at the ringing of the bell, three times a day. Pope John XXII [24] prescribed three Hail

20. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. II. Lib. IV. Regest. 870, f° 141.

21. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Copia di Bolle e Brevi di Alessandro VI riguard. la Spagna, f° 279.

22. Munich, K. Reichsarchiv, Regesta, 1497, IV.

23. Skelly, St. Dominic and the Rosary, p. 57.

24. 1316-1334.

Marys to be said when curfew should be tolled at night [25], and Langebeck relates [26] that, already in A. D. 1345, it was a practice in Denmark, derived from Rome, he says, to pray three times the Our Father and the Hail Mary, at the ringing of the curfew bell. Prayer at the sound of a bell about sunrise was introduced shortly after. At the synod of Lavaur, in Southwest France, in the year 1368, five Our Fathers and seven Hail Marys were prescribed, but were afterwards reduced to three Hail Marys [27]. Pope Calixtus III, in the year 1456, ordered a bell to be rung also at noon, to remind the faithful of their duty to pray for those who were fighting against the Turks ; but this ordinance fell into desuetude at or shortly after his demise. Pope Alexander VI, abandoned by the kings and princes of Christianity in his efforts against the invasions of the cruel Turks, took his recourse to the Queen of Heaven, and renewed the forgotten regulation of Calixtus of ringing the bell at noontide, in order to direct the people to recite three times the Angelical Salutation [28]. Burchard reports [29] that, on Sunday, the 9th of August of the year 1500, a bell was rung the first time at all the parochial churches of Rome, to admonish the parishioners to say the Lord's prayer and the " Ave Maria ", for help against the Turks ; and we have understood, he adds, that an order is given to thus ring the bells at noon every day of the year for everlasting time. The pious practice introduced by this Pontiff soon spread throughout Italy, and already at the beginning of the sixteenth century it was universally observed in France. It rapidly extended in other countries, till the " Angelus " bell is now heard three times a day all over the world.

25. Mabillon, Praef. in Acta Saec. V. Benedictini, § 122; Auct. passim.
26. Script. Rerum Danic., t. I, p. 306.
27. Mabillon, ubi supra.
28. Moroni, Dizion. Art. Aless. VI, p. 240.
29. Diar., t. III, p. 72.

ARTICLE II. — ALEXANDER VI AND THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION.

The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary gave occasion to animated discussions among the learned clergy and even among the laity, during the lifetime of pope Alexander VI. Generally speaking, the friars of the Franciscan Order were the coryphaei of the party that defended the privilege of the Mother of God, and the Dominicans were the champions of those who denied it. Pope Sixtus IV manifested the conviction of the Roman court, when he adopted, on the 29th of April, " III. Kal. Maii, " 1476 [30], a canonical office and Mass for the celebration of a feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, thus teaching that the event had not taken place under the stain of sin, but in all purity and holiness. The decree introducing this new office was not binding upon the entire Latin Church, as the Catholic Encyclopaedia wrongly states, nor did it oblige the friars of St. Dominic, for instance, to pray in spite of their opinion, which was still tolerated. It had, however, the illogical result of embittering the antagonists of the doctrine, and of exciting more violent contentions that finished in scandalous disputes and confusion of the faithful. Pope Sixtus IV felt obliged to publish, on the 4th of September, 1483, his Constitutions " Grave nimis ", by which he condemned and forbade, under pain of excommunication, to assert that all those were guilty of mortal sin and were heretics, who held and affirmed that the Blessed Virgin was conceived without original sin or any other stain, or that they committed a grievous sin by celebrating the office of her

30. Ballerni, Sylloge Immaculatae Virginis, p. 848.—The Catholic Encyclopaedia mistakes by giving the date of the 28th of February.

Immaculate Conception, by listening to sermons that maintained the Immaculate Conception or by reading books containing such a doctrine. He likewise subjected to the same penalty all who should assert those who held the contrary opinion to be guilty of mortal sin or to be heretics ; because, he added, the Roman Church and the Apostolic See had not as yet decided the question.

This threat of excommunication effectually stopped the mutual condemnations and unwarranted epithets of the disputants, and procured a few years of relative theological peace ; but during the pontificate of Alexander VI the discussions about either the Sanctification of the Blessed Virgin from original sin, or her Preservation from it, were renewed and soon grew as lively as, and broader than, ever. One of their results, however, was the brighter appearance and wider admission of the truth. On the 17th of September, 1497, eighty-two professors of the University of Paris unanimously resolved not to enroll any one in the future as a member of the Institution, unless he should first promise under oath to affirm and forever to defend with all his might the doctrine, that the most holy Mother of God had always been from the beginning of her existence immune and preserved from the stain of original sin [31]. The University of Cologne took a like resolution in the year 1499, and the one of Mainz declared itself in favor of the same doctrine in A. D. 1501 [32].

Pope Alexander VI added to the authority of those learned bodies the more important weight of his apostolical acts. Not only did he admit the canonical office and Mass of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin granted by Sixtus IV ; but, at the request of his nephew, Roderic de Borgia, he also

31. Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 265.

32. Wadding, ibid.; Trithemius, Chronic. Sponheimen; Jos. Weisz, Berthold von Henneberg, s. 50.

erected a Confraternity of the Conception of the Mother of God, in the city of Valencia, on the 15th of May, 1501. By placing the members of this pious sodality under the title and invocation of the Holy Virgin's Conception, he virtually declared her Conception to have been quite different from that of all other people, that is, holy and free from original sin, because a Pope never proposes as model or object of invocation any person or any event of his life, that is defiled by sin, and not wholly and simply immaculate.

He again manifested his belief and conviction when, on the 19th of October of the same year, he approved and confirmed the amended rules of another Confraternity of the Conception of the Most Holy Virgin, which had been established many years before in the church of the Cluny monastery of Toulouse, and which consisted of seventy-two prominent lay members and of an equal number of clergymen, among whom were, at the time, the archbishop of Toulouse and the bishop of Lavaur. He, moreover, enriched the Confraternity with indulgences and special privileges [33].

Encouraged by the example of men of such authority and influence, the Franciscan friars attacked, with more vigor than ever, the antagonists of the Immaculate Conception ; and, while the Dominicans resisted them with no less violence, the controversy soon assumed, in Germany more than elsewhere, the scandalous proportions of former years [34]. An academic debate about the doctrine had been announced by the Franciscans, to be held in their church of Heidelberg, on the Sunday under the octave of Corpus Christi of the year 1501 ; but the Order of Preachers had recourse to the duke of Bavaria, asking him to forbid the invited gathering ; and the agents of the Civil Power ejected all people from the edifice.

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33. Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds Lat. Cod. 1560, f° 55.

34. Munich, Königl. Staatsarchiv, Cod. Lat. 434.

As a consequence, the Minorites were left alone by themselves, to indulge in learned speeches [35]. On another occasion of about the same time, a venerable old Doctor of Law and Theology was to preach on the Immaculate Conception in his own parish church in the city of Frankfort, but the Prior of the Dominicans had hidden himself in a corner of the building, and when the preacher proclaimed that the Blessed Virgin was conceived free of sin, the Dominican stood up and cried out at him : You lie, you lie ! This provoked a tumult among the vast audience ; and, had the interrupter not escaped under the veil and mantle of a woman, he would have paid the penalty of his rashness, in that very church, Glassberger says [36].

Those are instances of the bitter feelings aroused in many places by the violent discussion of a still debatable teaching. If we can believe the biased chronicler, the Pope and his cardinals were requested, if not required, by princes and people, to impose silence on the adversaries of the pious doctrine. But the time was evidently inopportune to declare it a dogma of faith. We cannot but admire the prudence and firmness of pope Alexander VI in the course of action which he adopted. Peace and calm needed to be restored before all else, and to this effect, he first renewed, on the 20th of February, 1502, the above mentioned constitution of pope Sixtus IV.

He had been grieved to learn, he states, that members of various Orders, either ignorant of the papal letters or temerary enough to despise them, were holding forth, in their sermons to the people, opinions contrary to their contents, to the great scandal of the faithful. Therefore, he says, of our own accord, and not at the request of any one else, we decree that the said letters must be strictly observed until it

35. Nic. Glassberger, Chronica, p. 526.

36. Ibid., p. 528 or seq.

shall have been decided otherwise by the Apostolic See. He then orders all Patriarchs, Bishops and other prelates of the whole Church to publish this constitution, to attend to its inviolate observance, and to repress all contradictors and rebels by the sentence of excommunication, by other ecclesiastical penalties and the aggravation of them, and even to invoke, if need be, the help of the secular arm : furthermore, to denounce before the people, assembled for divine service, as excommunicated all those who shall have incurred the sentence [37].

The Pope well knew who were the leaders of the controversies, and, to prevent the recurrence of the disturbances, he had, in his consistory of the 6th of February, 1502, directed the two cardinals : Oliverius Caraffa, Protector of the Order of Preachers, and George de Costa, Viceprotector of that of the Minorites, to write to their relative subjects established in Germany, and to manifest his will to them. The cardinals performed their duty on the last day of the following month of March. They first recalled and renewed, with papal authority, the prohibition made by pope Sixtus IV and the penalties to be incurred by its transgressors. Then, they forbade, under pain of the same censures, to all prelates and friars of the two Orders to preach or to speak to the people in any manner of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, requiring absolute silence thereon in the presence of laymen. Finally, after blaming the superiors of both Orders, for their negligence in the performance of their duties regarding this matter, they gave the power and even the command to the local bishops to punish and declare excommunicated all friars who should in the least disobey these their orders or, to speak more correctly, the orders of the Supreme Pontiff [38].

The effect of these strict and comprehensive measures,

37. See Document 136.

38. See Document 137.

taken by pope Alexander VI, was that it put an end to all public debates on the subject and prepared the calm of hearts and minds, with which were received the implicit declaration of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mother of God, by the Council of Trent [39], in the year 1546, and its solemn proclamation as a dogma of faith, by pope Pius IX in A. D. 1854.

ARTICLE III. — SAINTS, H. RELICS, HOUSES OF GOD.

Pope Alexander VI promoted the veneration not only of the Blessed Mother of God, but also of all other Saints, as appears from the following instances :

On the 7th of August, 1493, he allowed the feast of St. Augustin, one of his favorite patrons, to be celebrated by clergy and laity of the city and diocese of Valencia, like the one of the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul, and granted an indulgence to all visiting on certain days the church of the Hermits of St. Augustin [40].

Wishing to instill into the Roman people the special devotion which he had always cherished towards these Saints, he established a chapel and chaplaincy in honor of St. Sebastian in St. Peter's basilica; one in honor of St. Lawrence, Martyr, in St. John's of Lateran, and another in honor of St. Vincent in Santa Maria Maggiore [41].

He granted, in the year 1499, at least to the Order of St. Francis, the office and feast of the archangel St. Gabriel and of St. Catherine, to be observed with the rite of " Duplex " [42].

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39. Sessio V. Decret. de Peccato Origin.

40. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bull. Div. An. I. Regest. 879, fo 246vo ; Inaccurately Malipiero, Annal. Veneti, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I. T. VII. P. II, p. 693.

41. Torrigio, Le Sacre Grotte, p. 435.

42. Fr. Nic. Glassberger, Chronica, p. 521.

Pastor [43] relates that he stimulated by several letters the confidence and respect of the faithful towards the holy mother St. Ann. In particular he granted, on the 22d of May, 1501, an indulgence of five years and of so many quarantines to all who would piously visit her chapel in the city of Wilna and make an offering for its support. If the faithful should reverence the places devoted to any of God's Saints, he says, they must especially respect those that are placed under the invocation of the one whose immaculate and inviolate daughter has given us the King of kings, our Redeemer [44].

Francis de Rosas, Spanish envoy in Rome, was to build a chapel of St. Francis in St. Andrew's church of Toledo, and the Pontiff, to encourage him, granted, on the 24th of November, 1501, an indulgence of fifteen years and of so many quarantines to all who would, on one of four designated feasts of the year, visit the chapel and contribute towards its support [45].

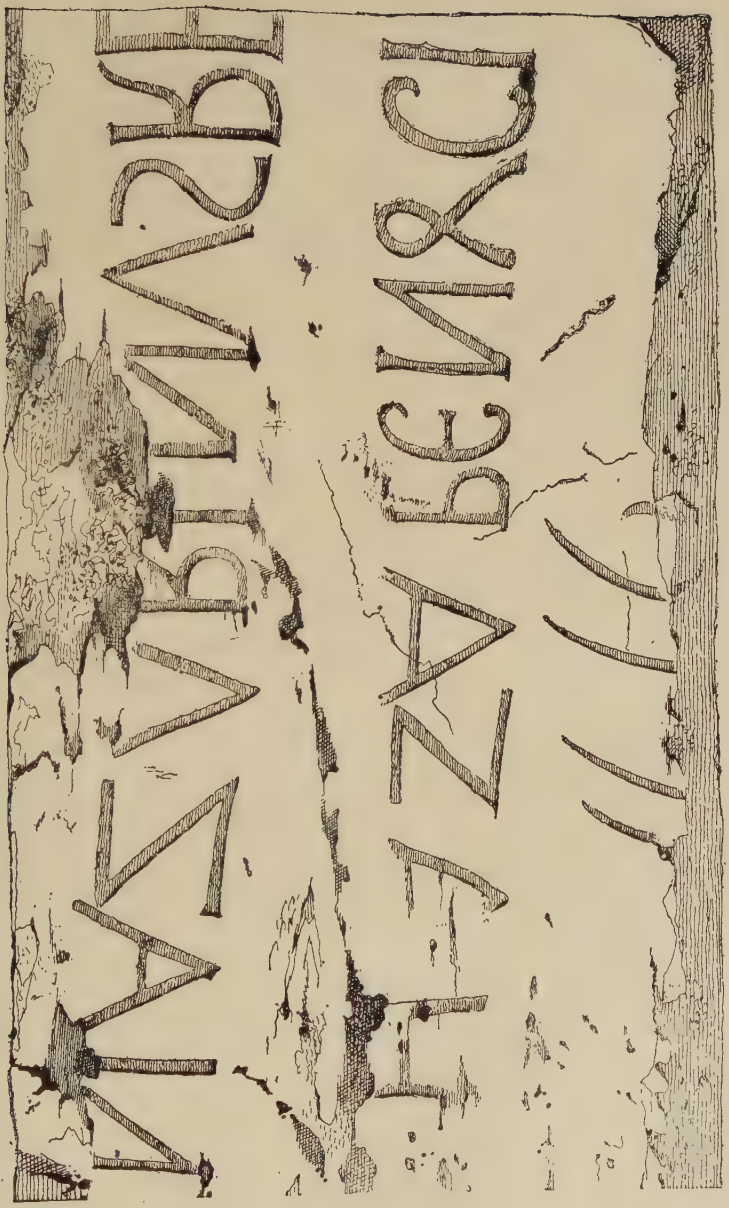
Besides the devotion to the Saints, there is a similar practice of piety, which pope Alexander VI greatly promoted among the Christian people, namely, the veneration of Holy Relics.

When cardinal de Mendoza was repairing and beautifying his titular church of the H. Cross " in Gierusaleme, " the Title that hung over the head of Our Lord dying on the cross was found, on the last Sunday of January, 1492, at the top of a wall supporting the vault of that church. This superscription, written in faint Greek and Latin, and considerably damaged Hebrew characters, was ever since religiously preserved there in the Chapel of Relics. On the 29th of July, 1496, the Pontiff published a bull, wherein he said : " We

43. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 478.

44. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Secret. An. VIII ad XI. Lib. II, Regest. 868,f° 145.

45. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Secret. An. VIII ad XI. Tom.. II. Regest. 868, f° 145.



TITLE OF THE HOLY CROSS
AS FOUND IN A. D. 1492 IN THE CHURCH OF
THE H. CROSS OF JERUSALEM IN ROME.

glory with the Apostle in the cross of Our Lord [46] and We try to bring others to its glorification ; so that, through the price paid on this tree of life, they may obtain the award of life everlasting. " Then, to encourage the people to visit the church of the Holy Cross on the last Sunday of January, he granted forever a plenary indulgence to all who would, on that day, after receiving with true repentance the Sacrament of Confession, make the pious visit [47].

Gregorovius relates [48] that the Grand Turk, to secure the good will of pope Innocent VIII, the guardian of Zizim, his rebellious brother, sent to him, together with other presents, the iron head of the Lance that pierced the side of Our Lord after his death. The Pontiff had in solemn procession carried it into St. Peter's church, in the beginning of January, 1492, and Roderic de Borgia, still a cardinal, had respectfully held it in his hands, while the Pope imparted his benediction to the multitudes. To secure more respect and veneration towards the holy treasure, pope Alexander VI erected, in the year 1499, a chapel to its honor in the basilica, where it was to be kept and shown to the faithful on solemn occasions [49].

He likewise fostered piety towards the relics of the Saints. The body of St. Januarius had been hidden since the stormy twelfth century in the abbatial church of Monte Vergine near Naples. At the request of cardinal Caraffa, pope Alexander VI allowed the cardinal's brother, the archbishop of Naples, to remove to his cathedral the holy remains of its patron saint, and he gave a plenary indulgence to all who did, on this occasion, accompany and venerate the relics of

46. Gal. VI, 14.
47. Bullar. Roman. Laertii Cherubini, Romae, 1638 ; Magnum Bullar. Roman. Luxemburgi, 1727.
48. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 304.
49. Torrigio, Le Sacre Grotte, p. 316.

St. Januarius [50]. The solemn translation took place on January the 15th, 1497, and a plague then raging in Naples suddenly ceased [51].

At the request of Alexander, Grand Duke of Lithuania, the Pontiff sent a number of relics of the Holy Cross and of Saints, taken from certain churches in Rome, to be distributed among the principal churches of Poland. On the 11th of September, 1501, he accompanied the donation with an instructive and edifying letter, addresses to the bishops of Wilna, Medniky or Womie and of Luczko or Lutzk. We all Christians, he says, we all ought to reverence on earth the remains of the Saints, whose souls we know to reign now with Christ in Heaven; in order that, by honoring God's friends we may prepare ourselves to receive his favors, and by thus securing the Saints' patronage, we may deserve to obtain through their intercession what we could not through our merits. Desiring that the said relics be held in due reverence, as it is becoming, We direct and command you, our Brothers, to receive them, and to order with our authority the faithful of those countries to receive them with all due respect and veneration. And We, to induce the same faithful of Christ to venerate them with greater devotion, We grant an indulgence of five years to all persons of either sex, who, after having made a good confession, shall be present at the solemn exposition of those relics for the first time ; and, of ten years, at each subsequent exposition, which shall take place once a year, for all future time [52].

While the enemies of pope Alexander VI are silent concerning his zeal to foster the veneration of Saints, they find fault

50. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XL. 18, f° 23.

51. Amer. Cathol. Quart. Rev., vol. XXX, p. 763.

52. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Secret. An. VIII ad XI. Lib. II. Regest. 868, f° 42vo ; Theiner. Monum. Poloniae et Lithuan., t. II. p. 297.

with him for " not seeking in the Church triumphant for protectors of the Church militant, by beatifying or canonizing new Saints " [53] ; as if a decree of canonization depended on the simple will of a Pontiff, and not on the proved holiness of a servant of God. There lived and died, especially in Italy, an extraordinarily large number of holy persons under the leadership of this calumniated Pope [54], but their acts of heroic virtue and the miracles wrought through their intercession were not sufficiently examined and verified, to allow of their being publicly honored by the Church. One would greatly mistake, if he thought pope Alexander VI to have been remiss in preparing the canonization of more Saints ; although, aware of the import of such solemnities, akin to dogmatic proclamations, he required a previous most careful and prudent inquest to be made.

In the course of the year 1494, Henry VII, king of England, presented a petition to the Pope, wherein he stated that Edward IV had caused the sacred body of his uncle, king Henry VI, to be buried in the church of the obscure monastery of Chertsey; but, soon after, Almighty God was working miracles through the blessed prince, and the people were going in crowds to make offerings on his grave. Richard, Edward's brother and successor, to put an end to the devotion and concourse of the faithful, had removed the remains to the collegiate church of the castle of Windsor. And now, the King requested the Pope's permission to exhume and transfer the venerated corpse to the royal vaults of the Westminster abbey [55].

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53. H. de l'Epinois in Rev. des Quest. Hist., vol. XXIX, p. 418.

54. Ferreras, Hist. de España, t. XI, p. 410, Becchetti, Ultimi Quattro Secoli, t. VI, p. 310 ; Christophe, Hist. de la Papauté, t. II, pp. 456, 458 ; Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, pp. 60, 61, etc. ; Bérault Bercastel, Hist. de l'Eglise, t. X, p. 453 ; " Dominicana, " vol. III, p. 410 ; Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 32.

55. Wilkins, Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, vol. III, p. 635 ; Labbe, Collectio Concil., t XIII, p. 1469.

Impressed by the assertion that miracles were taking place at the King's grave, the Pontiff asked at once for further information and learned so much from Henry VII and other reliabile persons, that, on the 7th of October, of that same year, granting more than he was asked, he wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury and to the bishop of Durham, requiring them to introduce the canonical inquest into the moral life and charitable works of king Henry VI and into the wonderful cures that were said to be obtained through his intercession. It is remarkable to see how very particular and minute are the directions given for the investigation, a sealed relation of which the prelates were to send by special messenger to Rome, where it was to be reviewed by the Pope and the College of cardinals, before more special proceedings should follow. The result of this preliminary examination seems, however, to have give no satisfaction, and pope Julius II renewed the bull of Alexander VI on the 19th of June, 1504, but with no better success [56].

Pope Innocent VIII had, in view of his canonization, appointed a commission to inquire into the life of St. Anselm, at one time archbishop of Canterbury, and into the miracles, said to have been performed through his medium; yet without effect. At the request of king Henri VII, pope Alexander VI named again, on the 7th of October, 1494, the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Durham as investigators of the same cause. The conclusions of this second inquest sustained the probability of St. Anselm's holiness, but did not remove the last doubt, nor did the Pontiff feel justified as yet in entering his name upon the catalogue of the Saints [57].

The same Pope also contributed towards the canonization of the popular Roman Saint, St. Francisca Cecolelle, generally called Francisca Romana. The Romans had in former

56. Wilkins, ibid., p. 640, Ex Reg. Morton., fo 204b.

57. Ibid., p. 641 ; Labbe, ubi supra, p. 1476.

years often insisted on the beatification of that Saint with various Pontiffs, who had confided her cause to certain cardinals. On the 28th of February, 1499, pope Alexander VI recommended it to the cardinals de Costa, Piccolomini and Ursino [58]. The holy widow did not, however, before Paul V (1605-1621) receive the public veneration of the faithful, who, till this day, celebrate her feast with unusual devotion.

Finally, St. Benno, bishop of Meissen, is to a certain extent indebted to pope Alexander VI, for the glory of his canonization. When the duke, bishops and abbots of Saxony had insistingly requested again that this apostle of the Slavs and courageous adherent to pope Gregory VII, in his struggle against emperor Henry IV, be placed among the number of the Saints, the Pontiff resolved, in the consistory of the 4th of March, 1499, to write a brief, by which he named two bishops and two abbots to inform themselves of all that was said of the saintly bishop, and afterwards report to him [59]. When Hadrian VI solemnly canonized St. Benno, he stated that his decree rested in part on the report of the commission instituted by pope Alexander VI [60].

Another form of piety, which pope Alexander VI both practised himself and encouraged among the Christian people, was the building and restoration of houses of divine worship. As an introduction to his bull of June 13th, 1493, by which he came to the assistance of a fraternity, to finish the chapel of the Hospice of " Campo Santo, " next to St. Peter's, he said : " We consider it as a pious and meritorious work before God, to lend a helping hand to the erection of churches, and We gladly comfort all the faithful with spiritual gifts, that is,

58. Archiv. S. Consistorii 1492-1523, fo 32, 2d series.
59. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXVI 10, f° 43.
60. Bullar. Roman., Constitutio " Excelsus Dominus. " § 6.

with indulgences and condonations, in order that, by the temporal help which they contribute thereto, they may deserve to obtain eternal happiness [61]. " Not to speak of the cathedrals and numerous churches, the construction of which he encouraged in the Spanish province of Granada and in America, he set an example to clergy and laity by repairing and improving St. Peter's, Santa Maria Maggiore and other basilicas in Rome and elsewhere, as we shall notice further on.

While many have escaped our notice, we have paid attention to the following instances, in which pope Alexander VI, besides encouraging the faithful to the reception of the Sacraments and to pious visits of churches, has stimulated the charitable liberality of the people towards the restoration and ornamentation of religious edifices.

On the 1st of January, 1493, he granted a plenary indulgence to all who, having confessed, would contribute towards the repairs of the church of the Blessed Virgin in Venice [62].

He issued, on the 13th of the same month, prefaced by a lengthy and beautiful hymn in honor of the Mother of God, a bull of indulgences to all who would receive the Sacraments, visit St. Mary's cathedral of Pamplona, on the feast or during the octave of the Assumption, and lend a helping hand towards its needed restoration [63].

On the 19th of the following March, he gave an indulgence to the faithful of either sex contributing to the repairs and ornamentation of the chapel of the Poor Clares " della Ripa, " or of that of the friars of St. Jerome at Forli [64].

The church of the Priory of St. Bandol, martyr, of the Order of Cluny, in the diocese of Segovia, was burned, and all but the bare walls and an image of the Blessed Virgin

61. Rome, Liber primus scripturarum Archiconfraternitatis Beatae Mariae Campi Sancti, fo 98vo.
62. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar. An. I. T. III. Regest. 774, f° 173.
63. Ibid., t. IV. Regest. 775, f° 138.
64. Ibid., f° 305.

with a veil hanging over it, had been consumed. The friars, not having the means to restore the damage done, pope Alexander VI announced, on the 8th of June, 1493, an indulgence of twenty years and so many quarantines, to be gained by all the faithful, each time that, having confessed, they would visit the ruins, at the feasts of St. Bandol, of the Apostle St. Bartholomew and of the Conception, and Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and would lend a helping hand to the restoration [65].

As indicated above, the Pontiff granted forever, on the 13th of the same month of June, an indulgence of fifteen years and of so many quarantines to all who would give their names to the Confraternity of Campo Santo, and to others, as often as they would make any donation towards the completion of its chapel [66].

On the 15th of August of the same year, he favored with an indulgence the faithful who would assist in the restoration of the cathedral of Palestrina [67].

At the village of Onnate, in the diocese of Calahorra, a few secular priests and clerics lived in community, and attracted by their exemplary life many people to their church of St. Michael; but they had not the means to keep it in repair. At the request of the majordomo of king Ferdinand of Spain, the Pope came to their assistance, on the 25th of October, 1493, by granting for all future time an indulgence of seven years and of seven quarantines to all who, after a good confession, would visit their church and make an offering for its support, on the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, or on that of St. Michael and of the Apostle St. James [68].

65. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. II. Lib. IV, Regest. 870, fo 183vo.

66. Ubi supra.

67. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Bullar. An. I. T. VI. Regest. 777.

68. Ibid., Alex. VI. Secret. An. II. Lib. IV. Regest. 870, fo 12vo.

A like indulgence for similar purposes was granted, on the same date, in favor of the church of St. Mary in Arce of Monte Albano, in the diocese of Saragossa [69].

Still, on the same 25th, equal indulgences were given for contributions towards the repairs of two other parochial churches [70].

A few families had settled around an alum mine in a remote part of the diocese of Carthagena, and were suffering in their spiritual needs. They sent a petition, and the Pope allowed them, on May 2d, 1494, to build a chapel, together with a baptismal font and a cemetery, and to obtain a priest who should care for them [71].

The chapel of S. Lannus, martyr, in the church of Bassanello was out of repairs and in need of sacred vestments. Ursus Orsini, of that town, and his wife, Julia Farnese, nephew and niece of the Pope, had a special devotion to that Saint. At their request, the Pontiff conceded, on the 30th of April, 1495, an indulgence of ten years and of ten quarantines, forever, to all who, having confessed, would piously visit the chapel on either of the feasts of St. Lannus, of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist or of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and would contribute towards its restoration and adornment [72].

On the 18th of the following month, to better provide for the salvation of the people and save them expenses in fulfilling their duties, he divided into two an extensive parish of the diocese of Seville; the one church being still at a distance of six miles from the other [73].

Unable to restore the ancient cardinalitial cathedral of St. Sabina, the Pontiff transferred all its possessions and its

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69. Ibid., fo 13vo.
70. Ibid., fiis 14vo and 15vo.
71. Ibid. Alex. VI. Bullar. An. I, II. Tom. XII, Regest. 783, f° 294vo.
72. Ibid., Alex. VI. Bull. Div. An. I, III, t. II. Regest. 783, f° 200.
73. Ibid., Alex. VI. Bullar., An. II, III, t. XIX. Regest. 790, f° 228.

episcopal see to the beautiful church of St. Liberatus in the town of Magliano, which, on the 18th of September, 1495, he raised to the rank of a city [74].

On the 25th of September, 1497, pope Alexander VI announced a plenary indulgence, to be gained by all who, after receiving the Sacrament of Penance, should visit the cathedral of Carthagena and contribute two " reals " of Spanish money towards its restoration [75].

From a minute, drawn up in the consistory of October 26th, 1498, we learn that the Pope had given in commendam to the candidate of the duke of Milan the abbey of All Saints near Cremona, which through age and the negligence of former incumbents had become dilapidated and deserted by its monks. And now the Pontiff admonished the duke to provide for the restoration of the abbey and to see to it, that religious should stay in it again and, for the benefit of the souls of the founders, attend to the divine services, all the more since its revenues were not inconsiderable [76].

The bishop of Fünfkirchen had rebuilt the vault of his cathedral, and desired to have it adorned with religious pictures. As there was a certain brother Jacob, of the Order of St. Benedict, famous for his paintings, the bishop asked pope Alexander VI to allow the artist leave of absence from his monastery, until he should have decorated his church. The Pontiff praised the prelate and, on the 10th of October, 1500, he gladly conceded him the requested permission, for a whole year [77].

On the 15th of May, 1501, he granted forever an indulgence of twenty years and so many quarantines to all the faithful who, after a good confession, would, on the feasts of Christ-

74. Ibid., Bullar. An. III, IV. T. XXII. Regest. 793, f° 130.

75. Ibid., Bullar. An V, VI. Tom. XXXVII, Regest. 808, f° 158vo.

76. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXVI, 10, f° 20.

77. Archiv. Vatic. Minutae Brev. Sixti IV--Julii II. Cod. I, f° 194.

mas, of the Purification and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, visit the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of Saints Andrew and Stanislas in the cathedral of Wilna, where St. Casimir was said to work many miracles, and would contribute an offering for the preservation and support of the chapel [78].

The village church of Olsene, then of the diocese of Tournay and now of the one of Ghent, was poor and out of repair. On November the 13th 1501, the Pope established, and favored with indults a confraternity, whose object should be the church's restoration and adornment [79].

Finally, on the 21st of June, 1502, he ordered a sum of money to be paid to the Illustrious Maria Enriquez, duchess of Gandia, for the restoration of the church of that place, commenced already in A. D. 1486, by her first husband, Pedro Luis de Borgia [80].

Nor did pope Alexander VI promote only the material beauty of the churches ; he also wished the moral adornment of their pious frequentation and of divine service accurately performed, or even, where possible, augmented in them. Thus did he, in the year 1493, restore St. Mary's parochial church of Figlino, in the diocese of Fiesoli, into a collegiate ; naming its rector, Diedius, a provost and adjoining to him twelve canons, who should, every day, glorify God and edify the people by the solemn celebration of the divine office. He likewise elevated, in 1501, to the rank of a collegiate church the one of St. Juliano's parish, in the town of Castiglione, of the diocese of Arezo, by appointing therein an archpriest and six canons [81].

Nothing was so small in religious matters that it did not

78. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Secret. An. VIII ad XI. Lib. II, Regest. 868, f° 50vo.

79. Ibid., f° 96.

80. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Div. Cam. 1501-1503. Lib. V, Armar. 29, no. 54, f° 194.

81. Acta Apost. Sedis, vol. VI, pp. 354, 361.

enlist the Pontiff's careful attention. In the year 1493 he confirmed a statute of Louis d'Amboise, bishop of Albi, whereby it is ordered that, at each choir-office recited in the cathedral, sixteen wax tapers, each weihing one pound, shall be lighted and burnt during the service [82]. He issued a special brief, on the 15th of August, 1500, to allow a certain Christophorus Cassuenda, of the diocese of Saragossa, to recite his Breviary according to the Roman rite [83]. On March 16th, 1502, he likewise granted the same favor to Alfonse de Bivena, of the diocese of Salamanca [84]. The ambassador of Venice wrote, on the 20th of December, 1502, that, in the name of the Seigniory, he had requested the Pope to renew for another twenty years the indulgence named " del Perdon " of St. Anthony, but the Pontiff had answered him that it would be time enough to renew it when the former twenty years would have elapsed ; that he did not expect to live that long, but his successor would not refuse to do it [85].

Pope Alexander VI was not less zealous to alleviate the misfortunes of man, than he was to promote the service of God.

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82. Dublin Rev., Oct. 1894, p. 282. Ref. to Hist. Gén. de Languedoc, Ed. 1874, t. V

83. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Minutae Brev. Sixti IV—Julii II. Cod. I, f° 147.

84. Ibid., f° 162.

85. Villari, Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, p. 280.—The whole Codex XXX, 83 of the Roman Barberini library is a proof of the great care taken by pope Alexander VI of church matters of little importance.

CHAPTER XII.

Alexander VI promotes charity towards the needy.

Considerable and frequent were his personal largesses to all classes of suffering humanity, and almost incredible to one who is acquainted with the relative smallness of his income. Of his own almsgiving we shall speak later on, and here merely indicate some instances of what he did as a Pontiff to encourage the faithful in following his example.

The sin of usury was the great evil of Europe, from the Xth to the XVIth century. The city council of Frankfort borrowed, in A. D. 1368, one thousand florins from four Jews, and paid fifty-four per cent as interest. Poorer people had to offer a sixfold security, and to pay a weekly interest, which in some cases amounted to sixty-five per cent a year [1]. The famous Minor Observantine, St. Bernardino of Feltre, tried to save from total ruin the poorer classes of Italy, by the institution of the Monts-de-piété or confraternities that lent small sums of money at the minimum of interest needed to defray the necessary expenses of conducting the business. Pope Alexander VI encouraged the Saint, and even wrote a brief, ordering him to preach in the city of Milan, where he consequently established a Mont-de-piété, on the fourth Sunday after Easter in the year 1493 [2]. Some rigorists objected to the nominal payment to be made by the borrowers, but the Pope, like other Pontiffs and jurists generally, allowed the practice, to save an institution so essentially beneficial to society [3]. On the other hand, there was in the New Statutes of Rome,

1. J. Janssen, Gesch. des Deutsch. Volk., 9te Aufl. Bd. I, s. 388; Frizzi, Memorie per la Storia di Ferrara, t. V, p. 229.

2. Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 37.

3. Bullar. Roman. Leonis X. Constit. XI, § 3.

which pope Alexander VI had, on the 1st of March, 1494, ordered to be enacted and had afterwards approved, an ordinance by which any Jew, man or woman, who would be foud practising usury, was fined twenty-five " provisinorum " for every offense [4].

As the Germans have lately done in Belgium, so did their allies, the cruel Turks, in the fifteenth century, deport innocent people that they had overtaken in their barbarian incursions into Christian countries. They offered to set free those of their captives, for whom a high price should be paid ; and it was no uncommon occurrence to meet fathers or mothers who, robbed of all their earthly goods, were begging all over Europe, to collect the ransom of a son or a daughter. We have found a few cases among those in which the compassionate Pontiff assisted those poor wanderers.

An unfortunate lady, Johanna Vilagrano, had seen her husband cruelly murdered and her son and daughter made slaves by the Turks, at the conquest of the island of Santa Maura. She had begged in different lands the ransom of her children ; but, at the capture of Otranto, they all were dragged into captivity again. Some Christians had obtained the mother's liberty by promising that she should pay again, within a certain date, a hundred and fifty ducats for the freedom of her children. With a mother's courage she once more commenced to beg, but this time aided by the compassionate Pontiff, who, on the 2d of October, 1492, had granted an indulgence of three years and of three quarantines to all who would help her in making up the required amount [5].

On the 20th of the following November, a certain John de Caly, of the island of Corfu, received a papal letter granting

4. Statuta et Novae Reformationes Urbis Romae, Lib. IV, p. 1 ; Lib. III, p. 21.

5. Gottlob, Aus der Camera, s 187, who remarks that other similar cases occur in Alexander's Secreta, Regest. 870, f° 135, seqq.

an indulgence to all Christians that would contribute towards the redemption of his son from Turkish slavery [6].

The Pontiff bestowed, on the 12th of December of the same year, a similar favor on the noble lady, Agnes Crispi, of the island of Andros, who was asking public charity for the liberation of her sons [7].

On the 6th of April, 1494, the Pontiff gave a letter, granting an indulgence to all who would assist Demetrius and his sister Mary Ralles, fugitives from the island of Negroponte, and also Lascaria Adothositos, from the island of Andros [8].

On the 12th of the same month, he confided a similar letter to Francis de Yaccinto and Anthony, his son [9].

In the preface to his bull of the 5th of September, 1495, pope Alexander VI states that, as far as his means allow, he helps the poor sufferers exposed to the fury of the Infidels, but that the number of unfortunates applying to him increases day after day, so as to make him feel obliged to beg the faithful for aid in bearing the burden. Certain charitable merchants had advanced the money to ransom four hundred Christians detained by the Moors of Tunis, and two thousand more were still suffering in prison and subjected to such torments that they were in danger of falling into despair and of losing their faith. Pope Innocent VIII had granted an indulgence to all who would contribute to repay the merchants, but these complained to the Pope of not being indemnified yet. He, therefore, exhorted and urgently admonished all the faithful to perform this act of charity, granting a plenary indulgence to those who, after a good confession, would donate a fourth part of a ducat to be deposited with a Com-

6. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bull. Div. An. I. T. I. Regest. 879, fo 73vo.
7. Ibid., f° 97.
8. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An II. Lib. IV, Regest. 870, f° 135.
9. Ibid., f° 136.

mission instituted for the purpose of paying the money due, and of further redeeming their suffering brethren [10].

There were at the time of pope Alexander VI, as at all times, a number of poor orphans, and of poor sick, travelling and helpless people. All these sufferers were the object of the Pontiff's commiseration, and he took a special interest in the erection and support of hospices and hospitals, where tender care should be taken of them.

We do not pretend to give a full account of his encouragement and assistance towards this branch of charity ; but, already on the 13th of December, 1492, he granted, for three years, a plenary indulgence to all who should make a good confession, visit the chapel of the hospital of Ancona, on the 16th of May, the day on which the Sacred Lance had been venerated there before being brought to Rome, and would make an offering for the support of the hospital of the homeless poor and unfortunate people of that city [11].

For the year 1493 we have again to record several bulls by which pope Alexander VI encouraged charity towards poor sufferers. On the 1st day of January, he gave a plenary indulgence to all faithful who should receive the sacraments, visit, on two special days of each year, the chapel of the Foundling's hospice of Venice, and donate what their compassion might suggest to the Institution, that could no longer take care of the increasing number of its pitiable little wards [12].

The Kings of Spain had resolved to build and endow a hospice for the poor and for the pilgrims coming to venerate the relics of St. James the Apostle, in their city of Compostella, which was near the old dilapidated Benedictine monastery,

10. Ibid., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I, II, III. Lib. III, Regest. 869, fo 225vo.

11. Ibid., Alex. VI. Bullar. An. I. T. II, Regest. 773, fo 71vo.

12. Ibid., An. I. T. III. Regest. 774, fo 327vo.

where there were but two or three relaxed monks residing. They wished the new establishment to be kept by thirty religious, and applied to the Pope, who, to assist them in realizing their plans, made, on the last day of January, the commendators resign their offices, and united with the reformed Benedictines the two old monasteries of St. Pelagius and of St. Peter, in the same city [13].

Because " monies destined for the poor ought not to be wasted in lawsuits ", the Pontiff declared, he summarily concluded, on the 22d of May, the legal action of an intruder against the hospital for the Poor and exposed infants of Orvieto, by following the customary rights, in favor of the Community [14].

On the 17th of July, he gave permission to a priest of Toledo to convert one of his houses into a hospice for poor and unfortunate persons, to attach a chapel to it and to establish a Confraternity of one hundred and fifty members, for its lasting support. On this Confraternity he conferred the privilege of naming the chaplain, and on each of its members that of choosing a confessor, who would have the faculty of absolving him from reserved cases and of commuting his ordinary vows. Moreover, he granted an indulgence of thirteen years and of so many quarantines also to all others who should visit the chapel on certain days and make an offering towards the maintenance of the new foundation [15].

At the request of king Emmanuel, he granted, on the 24th of May 1496, a plenary indulgence to all assisting the hospital for the poor people of Lisbon [16].

On the 3d of July, that same year, the Pope gladly confirmed the last will of Cardinal Peter de Mendoza, bequeathing a

13. Ibid., An. I, II. T. X. Regest. 781, f° 25vo.
14. Ibid., An. I. T. VI. Regest. 777, f° 120.
15. Ibid., Bullar., An. I, II, T. VII, Regest. 778, f° 164.
16. Ibid., An. I ad X. Lib. VII. Regest. 873, f° 200.

legacy sufficient to build and endow a hospital of the Holy Cross in the city of Toledo, where exposed children, the poor and other victims of misfortune were to be kindly received [17].

The Confraternity of the Gonfalon of the Blessed Virgin in the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore was in the habit of carrying her picture in procession on the 5th of August, and on that occasion to distribute dowries to poor young women, to fit them for an honest marriage. The number of the fair applicants being so large that the means of the Confraternity were insufficient to favor them all, the Pontiff conceded, on the 1st of August, 1496, a plenary indulgence, to be gained every year forever, by all who would, on that festive day, visit the basilica, and by a donation increase the funds destined for the laudable purpose [18].

On the 1st of January of the following year, he favored with indulgences a hospital and chapel which the King of England had undertaken to build and endow in his city of Windsor [19].

With the consent of the council of Genoa, the Minor Observantine, Michael de Aquis, had established there the Society of the Blessed Mary of Piety, a Mont-de-Piété, to assist the poor with money in their needs ; and besides, a Confraternity of clergy and laity, consisting of four hundred members, a man and his wife counting for one, that should maintain the Society by their charitable contributions. To encourage the Confraternity, the Pontiff authorized, on the 29th of April, 1497, each one of its members to choose for confessor any priest, who could, once in their life absolve them from sins reserved to the Pope, commute their vows and grant them a plenary indulgence at the hour of death. He gave them, moreover, all the indulgences to be gained, in Lent and other times, by the visit of the Station churches in Rome, if they

17. Ibid., fo 207vo.
18. Ibid., f° 308.
19. Ibid., fo 53vo.

should pray at three altars of the church of the locality where they happened to be ; finally, he allowed them an ecclesiastical burial in places subject to the penalty of interdict [20].

Eleonora, widow of king John II of Portugal, had restored the baths for the poor of Obidos, in the diocese of Lisbon. To make this establishment of charity a lasting institution, pope Alexander VI conceded, on the 1st of June, 1497, a plenary indulgence to dying Christians who would make a legacy to it by last will [21].

For the improvement of divine service and for a more liberal accommodation of its guests, the Pontiff reformed, and made new regulations for the hospital of St. Anthony of Pavia, on the 11th of July , 1497 [22].

The hospital of St. John the Baptist of Valencia, in France, was suffering for want of sufficient revenues and needed care. Anthony de Conflans, the French ambassador in Rome, informed the Pontiff of the sad condition. Pope Alexander VI, who took nothing more to heart than the welfare of the sick, soon found a remedy. By bull of the 22d of June, 1499, he united to the hospital the priory of St. Maurice of the place Alesii and of the Order of Cluny, that had an income of fifty gold florins, and instituted for it a chaplain and a procurator [23].

At the approach of the Jubilee year 1500, the Pontiff allowed and stimulated the establishment of a charitable confraternity in Rome, that, soon after, built on the " Ripetta " the church of SS. Rochus and Martin and a large hospital for wounded and poor sufferers of the Roman fever [24].

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20. Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV. p. 545, ex Registro 132, f° 125.

21. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I ad X. Lib. VII. Regest. 873, f° 84vo.

22. Ibid., Alex. VI. Bullar. An. VII. VIII. T. LIII. Regest. 824, f° 315vo.

23. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bull., An. VII, VIII, t. LIV, Regest. 825, f° 286vo.

24. Bull of Pius IV, ap. Morichini, Instituti di Carità in Roma, p. 180.

During the Jubilee itself he fostered another institution of the same character, namely, the confraternity of the bakers of Rome, under the invocation of S. Mary of Loretto, which erected a church at the " Colonna Trajana ", together with an infirmary for the sick members of the guild [25].

At the request of Maria Enriquez, dowager duchess of Gandia, the Pope authorized, on September 19th, 1500, the Dean and Chapter of St. Mary's church of that place to institute a confraternity for the maintenance and increase of its hospital, where the poor and the sick, the feeble and the unfortunate were kindly received and fed. He ordained that the members should pay a small sum at their admission and granted them a plenary indulgence at the hour of their death [26].

During the same year he readily allowed Francis de Mandrid, of Toledo, and Beatrix Gaulinde, his wife, to build a hospital under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary at a suitable location in Spain, together with a chapel and appurtenances, and to establish a confraternity of two hundred members, who should contribute a sixth part of a ducát at the time of their admission for the support of the charitable foundation. He conceded to the founders and to the oldest of their descendants forever the right of patronage of the hospital, and extensive privileges and indulgences to all its benefactors [27].

Emanuel, king of Portugal, had submitted to the Pope the idea that the hospices and hospitals of his States would be enabled to receive and treat better the poor, the sick and the strangers, if those of the same city should be united to the principal one, and the particular administrations and their

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25. Morichini, ibid., p. 233.
26. Ibid. Alex. VI. Bull. Div. An. IV ad XI, t. IV. Regest. 882, fo 62vo.
27. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Copia di Bolle e Brevi di Aless. VI riguardanti la Spagna, fo 161vo.

offices abolished. Thereupon, the Pontiff wrote, on October 23d, 1501, to the bishop of Guimaranes and to the vicar of Thomar that he wished no better than to promote the welfare of all unfortunates, but was ignorant of the facts and circumstances ; and, therefore, appointed them to carefully examine the matter, and, if found to be as represented, to gradually make the unions with apostolic authority, as fast as the rectors of the hospitalswould die or resign. He also gave power to his commissaries to introduce into office the person whom they should name for the government of the hospitals thus united [28].

On the 17th of November, 1502, the Pontiff granted indulgences and other privileges to all who would assist the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen at Rouen, whose revenues were inadequate for the needs of its poor inmates [29].

Nor was he oblivious of the greatest and most helpless sufferers, of the souls in Purgatory ; for he made applicable to them many of the Indulgences which he granted to the faithful. On the 20th of March, 1498, he encouraged the institution of a confraternity, whose object would be the relief of those poor souls by prayer, good works and especially by the oblation of the H. Sacrifice of the Mass, to be offered by the beneficiaries of two new chaplaincies that he attached to the pious association. Moreover, he promoted the confraternity by bestowing spiritual favors upon its members [30].

Such are some of the means by which pope Alexander VI effectually co-operated to the assistance of hundreds and thousands of unfortunates, whether living or dead.

But, about this time, many houses of Christendom, especially rich residences and gilded palaces had, in a moral

28. Ibid. Alex. VI. Secret. An. VIII ad XI. Lib. IV, Regest. 868, f° 130.

29. Ibid., f° 159.

30. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bull. An. VII. Tom. LI, Regest. 822, f° 171.

sense, become hospitals and lazarets, inhabited by bandits, noblemen and princes, whose soul was still alive with faith, but ill and dying with the lethal poison of all sorts of bold and public crimes. On the other hand, there had arisen, as a scourge of God, the fierce Mohammedans, the Turks, who had already laid waste several provinces of the Christians, and were seriously threatening the whole of Europe with murder and total ruin. In this awful plight, the Pope endeavored to save his spiritual children, during the Jubilee year of 1500, the year of pardon and restoration, by procuring spiritual life and vigor again to all penitent sinners, and by making use of the alms, which they would give in return, to prepare and maintain armies, that should oppose any further invasions of the Turks and, if possible, drive them out of Europe.

CHAPTER XIII.

Jubilee of the year 1500.

ARTICLE I. — THE JUBILEE IN ROME.

The Jubilee of the year 1500, consisting of the absolution of all sins and ecclesiastical censures, and of the remission of all temporal punishment due to sins whose guilt had been forgiven, was to be gained in the City of Rome, by all who would worthily receive the sacrament of Penance, and make, once a day, a pious visit to the main altar of each of the basilicas of St. Peter, of St. Paul, of St. John of Lateran and of Santa Maria Maggiore, for thirty days, if they were citizens of Rome, and for fifteen days, if strangers.

A secondary benefit of the Jubilee was that it afforded an occasion for making a pilgrimage to the graves of St. Peter and St. Paul and of thousands of other martyrs entombed in the Roman churches and catacombs. The difficult journeys to Rome of numerous Christians from all parts of Christianity were a striking admonition to sinners and a means to obtain God's greater mercy and grace. They were, moreover, an homage paid to the primacy of the Roman Pontiff and a public recognition of the unity of the Church and of its center.

Pope Paul II says in his bull" Ineffabilis Providentia ", of the 19th of April, 1470 [1], that we know from reliable ancient reports, that great pardons of sins and indulgences were, in former centuries, granted to those who came to Rome, to honor the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles. It was pope Boniface VIII who granted the first solemn Jubilee

1. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., | 540, fo 89vo ; Bullarium Roman, Pauli II. Secret. Lib. II. Regest. | Romae 1750, t. III, p. 138.

indulgence of the year 1300, and for every following hundred year. Pope Clément VI reduced from one hundred to fifty the number of intervening years, in memory of the Jewish year of Jubilee. Pope Urban VI, considering the brevity of human life, and in honor of the years of life of Our Lord Jesus Christ, accelerated the recurrence of the Jubilee to every thirty-third year. Finally, pope Paul II further reduced the intervening space of time to twenty-five years. The last celebration having taken place in A. D. 1475, the year 1500, was the regular one, according to both the latest regulations and the original institution, for the solemnity to be renewed.

Pope Alexander VI was not slow in making preparations for the great event. Already on April 12th, 1498, to incite the eagerness of the Christians to avail themselves of the advantages of the coming Roman Jubilee, he suspended all over Christendom until the end of the year 1500, all unexpired concessions of plenary indulgences, all faculties of commuting vows and of settling doubts in regard to goods unjustly acquired or extorted by usury, and all privileges of choosing one's confessor or of absolving from sins reserved to the Holy See ; irrespectively of how or by whom those favors might ever have been granted. He decreed this suspension to become effective and binding immediately after the octave of the next following Easter, and finished his bull by exhorting the people to prepare themselves, by leading better lives and by doing works of penance and of charity, to obtain the intercession of the almost innumerable thousands of holy martyrs buried together with the Apostles Peter and Paul in the City of Rome [2].

The announcement of the Jubilee, confirming its institution by pope Boniface VIII [3], was made on the 28th of March, on

2. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 454; Munich, K. Staatsbibl., Cod. Lat. 951, f° 131, alias 197.

3. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 591.

Holy Thursday of the year 1499, when the bull was read from the place of public benediction, by Vasinus Gambara, apostolic sub-deacon, in the presence of the Pontiff seated in front of the people [4].

During the week after the 15th of December, 1499, the Pope called the ordinary Penitentiaries of St. Peter's and held a conference with them about the absolution and sanctification of the faithful desiring to gain the indulgence. He also went to the basilica on the 18th of that month, when he ordered the preparations for the opening of the Golden or Holy Jubilee Door and the placing of the alms-box, and made the appointment of the guardians of St. Peter's and of the other basilicas, that were to remain open during the whole following year. He, further, directed the bishop of Modena to take notes and write the Jubilee bull, which should be solemnly published the following Sunday [5].

Indeed, on the 22d, the Jubilee bull was published in Latin and Italian, at the sound of trumpets, by two chamberlains of the Pope, at the end of the solemn Mass; and in the afternoon, in like manner, it was publicly read in Italian, by an officer of the city, in the places where official proclamations were usually made.

By this bull, " Inter curas multiplices, " the Pontiff declares that, wishing with all his heart to win souls to their Creator, he has in a former bull approved and renewed the Jubilee letters of his predecessors, and now determines the time for

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4. Ibid., p. 518.—Through an evident mistake of a copyist we read in the foregoing passage of Burchard that the Jubilee year was already commenced " anni jubilaei incepti in vesperis Vigilii Nativitatis D. N. J. C. proxime preterii (sic). But the statement is an integral part of the narration of happenings of the previous year, 1499.. Nor was there any reason for announcing the Jubilee after it was commenced. The Kirchenlexicon, Art. Jubiläum, col. 1909, has been misled by the error, to say that Alexander VI published the Jubilee three different times.

5. Ibid., p. 582.

the opening of the fullest indulgence, namely, the first vespers of the Nativity of O. L. Jesus Christ; at which time, he shall, himself, according to custom [6], open the Golden Door of St. Peter's and send cardinals to open those of the basilicas of St. Paul, of St. John of Lateran and of Santa Maria Maggiore.

He then prescribes the conditions for gaining the benefits of the Jubilee, to wit, that the Romans should visit, once a day, the high altars of the four said basilicas thirty times ; strangers, fifteen times, after having prepared themselves by receiving absolution of all their sins. From the performance of these visits he exempts, however, those who, after having entered upon their journey to Rome or having made ready for it, shall be legitimately prevented from accomplishing it; also those who, after making a good confession, shall be compelled to leave the city before finishing the prefixed number of visits. So also were excused the people of Rome, if prevented from completing the number of visits required from them. He further states that Christians, burdened with reserved sins, may find confessors to absolve them ; for he has, he says, by other apostolic letters, deputed penitentiaries, in St.Peter's church, with faculties to absolve from all such reserved cases.

He continues, to procure the happiness of those souls that are in need of the help of others while they cannot assist

6. The " Kirchenlexicon " Art. Jubiläum, Col. 1909, mistakes in saying that pope Alexander VI was the first to open and close the holy Jubilee Door ; but the words of the bull : " Portam dictae basilicae B. Petri centesimo quoque anno Jubilaei pro majori fidelium devotione aperiri solitam, " can leave no doubt. This Pope was the first, indeed, to open a new door in the right corner of the church, on this occasion ; but, before him, one of the five ordinary doors was shut for some length of time, and opened again at the beginning of the Jubilee (Bullarium Roman., 1750, t. II, p. 320, n. b.). This may explain the assertion of Rudolph Venuti (Numism. Roman. Pontiff, p. 44), saying that Alexander VI was the first Pontiff to close the Golden Door.

themselves,—We, drawing from the treasures of the Holy Roman Church, to the effect that the present indulgences may be made profitable to the souls of purgatory, We concede, with the plenitude of the apostolic authority, that a full Jubilee indulgence may be applied to them, by way of suffrage, if relatives or friends or any other Christians shall place for them, towards the repairs of St. Peter's church, an offering in the alms-box of that church and make more visits to the said basilicas and churches, according to the directions of the said penitentiaries. The Pope finishes by exhorting all the faithful to lead a moral and penitential life, so that they may fit themselves, through the intercession of the holy martyrs, to fully gain the plenary indulgence for themselves and for the souls of purgatory [7].

The bull " Pastoris Aeterni, " just intimated, was issued on the same 22d of December. The Pontiff granted by it to the nine penitentiaries of St. Peter's, whose names are therein expressed, the faculty of absolving " in foro conscientiae " from all reserved sins and crimes and the censures entailed by them, even those mentioned in the bull " In Coena Domini " [8], with the only exception of these four : Conspiration against the person or estate of the Roman Pontiff or the Holy See, Falsification of pontifical letters, supplicas and commissions, Delivery of weapons or other forbidden goods to the Infidels, Violent assault on Bishops or other higher prelates. He, further, suspended, for the year 1500, all such faculties given to any one else, whether orally or in writing, and forbade even the attempt to make use of them, under pain of excommunication reserved to himself [9].

On Monday, 23d of December, the Pontiff called his Masters of Ceremonies, and made with them all, the most minute arrangements for the opening of the Golden Door on

7. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 585.
8. Document 94.
9. Bullar. Roman., 1750, t. II, p. 317 ; Burchard, ibid., p. 588.

the following day. Meanwhile the masons pierced the church wall for a new door, which they edged with marble and thinned away the future opening to the thickness of one outer brick, loose to the height of a few feet.

In the afternoon of Christmas Eve, the Pope came down from the Vatican, arrayed in full pontificals, carried in his sedan and holding a lighted candle in his left hand, while blessing the people with his right. He was followed by the cardinals, the other members of his court and all the clergy of Rome, holding lighted candles or flambeaux.

Arrived at the basilica, he stepped down and walked to the door to be opened, where he accepted a hammer from the masons and struck a breach in the weakened wall ; and then returned to his seat, leaving the workmen to continue the work of demolition, till after half an hour's labor, the opening was completed. In the meantime all the bells of Rome were ringing, St. Peter's choir was rehearsing an appropriate series of Verses and Responses, and the Pontiff delegated the cardinals de Costa and Orsini and the archbishop of Ragusa to open the Golden Doors of the three other basilicas. When the masons had finished, the Pope proceeded to the door, knelt and, with head uncovered, prayed a few minutes ; then entered the church, holding the candle in his hand, and walked on the scattered debris of bricks and mortar, assisted by his two Masters of Ceremonies and followed by the whole procession. He went on to the main altar, where the solemnity was concluded with the singing of the " Te Deum". He remained for the office of Vespers and, finally, went back, through the ordinary gate, to the Vatican palace [10].

At the end of the Jubilee year, pope Alexander issued a letter to announce that he would, by himself, close the Golden Door, but, prevented by gout, he commissioned the

10. Burchard, Diar., t. II, pp. 582, 594-601.

cardinals of Cosenza and of Modena to perform the ceremony [11].

On this occasion was struck a commemorative medal, restored by the engraver Paladino towards the end of the sixteenth century. Its diameter is of one and three quarter inches. Its observe is a left bust of pope Alexander VI wearing a cope, with head uncovred, and surrounded by the legend : " Reseravit et Clavsit. Ann. MD. " The reverse represents the Pope with his court before the Golden Door, breaking it open with a hammer [12].

The number of visits had been determined for all who wished to obtain the benefits of the Jubilee, but special considerations soon moved the Pope to lessen that number in particular cases. Thus he allowed, on the 3d of January, 1501, to a certain Leonard and forty of his companions, who had just returned from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, to visit the four churches only three times [13].

At my request, Burchard says [14], the Pope allowed to each of our chapel to choose his own confessor, who could fully absolve us, give us a plenary indulgence and let us gain the Jubilee by visiting three times the four designated basilicas; but when I asked him to let me obtain the Jubilee by visiting three times St. Peter's only, he would not concede that to me.

Most probably the Pope granted similar privileges to other individuals.

On the 14th of April, pope Alexander VI, himself, tried to gain the Jubilee indulgence. Dressed in amice, alb, cincture and capuche, he went, preceded by the cross and the cardinals, to St. Peter's basilica. Then he mounted his horse,

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11. Phaeb., De Anno Jubilei, Cap. VIII, p. 149.
12. Armand, Les Médailleurs Italiens des XVe et XVIe siècles, t. I, p. 295, t. III, p. 143.
13. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 9.
14. Ibid., p. 23.

while the procession formed. The cross was carried in front, then came the cardinals, followed by duke Cesar de Borgia with a large suite of servants bearing halberds. The Pope rode after them, and behind him, the prelates in their usual order, followed by a multitude of armed men ; all proceeding to St. Paul's church, thence to St. John's of Lateran and to St. Mary Major's.

Burchard states that, on this occasion, the Pontiff granted to all canons, beneficiaries and clerics of St. Peter's, of St. John's of Lateran and of St. Mary's that, by visiting the four basilicas once and by faithfully serving in their own churches, they would gain the Jubilee. Burchard was told that the Pope also conceded the indulgence to all the cardinals' familiars, who had accompanied him that day [15].

As a number of people wished, for good reasons, to have the number of their visits lessened and could not apply for relief to the Pontiff himself, pope Alexander VI granted, on the 4th of March, 1500, to the penitentiaries of St. Peter's the general faculty of reducing to five the fifteen visits required from strangers, and to seven the thirty imposed upon the inhabitants of Rome ; provided the former should deposit in the alms-box for the restoration of St. Peter's church, the fourth part, and the latter the eight, of the costs of their living during the days, that they were excused from completing the respective number of their visits. Poverty, however, exonerated them from the duty of making any contribution. The Romans who were prevented by age, sickness or any other cause from visiting the four basilicas, were, moreover, allowed to visit their parochial churches, even less than seven times, and such as could not leave their houses, satisfied by reciting at home the Our Father and Hail Mary as often and as many days as the penitentiaries would enjoin.

15. Ibid., t. III, p. 34.

By the same bull the Pontiff bestowed on the penitentiaries the faculty of moderating the number of visits and the contributions prescribed for gaining the plenary indulgence for the souls of purgatory ; of absolving and dispensing in all cases of censures and irregularities and in certain impediments of matrimony ; also of commuting all vows, except the vows of continence, of entry into a religious Order and of pilgrimage to Jerusalem ; finally, of settling all cases of unjustly gotten goods and of simony [16].

Pope Alexander VI paid close attention to all spiritual matters of the Jubilee, but temporal affairs connected with it, those especially relating to the safety of the pilgrims, caused him the greatest cares and anxieties.

Knowing the thievery and cruelty of many of the Lords, his temporal Vicars in the Pontifical States, and the dangers from bandits and Corsicans, he held, as early as the 26th of November, 1498, with the cardinals assembled in consistory, a consultation about the means of making easy and secure the roads and hostelries for the strangers that were to come to Rome on this occasion. Again, in the consistory of the 14th of the following month, he proposed to institute the Spanish Hermandad, to police the whole State and, in particular, the roads to be followed by the pilgrims [17].

He published, on the 21st of February, 1500, his bull " Inter cetera que Nobis, " by which he states that, already at the beginning of the Jubilee year, several foreigners had been robbed and even murdered on their way : a disgrace to the Apostolic See, which might lessen the desire of others to visit Rome, unless measures were taken by those obliged to prevent the evil. Therefore, wishing that strangers may move about with all security and safety, from our own will, he says, We admonish and command, under pain of excom-

16. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 7.

17. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXVI, 10, f[11s] 26, 29.

munication, all our governors, temporal Vicars and cities subject to the dominion of the Church ; all duchies, marquisates and communities belonging in any manner, directly or indirectly, to our temporal authority, to have their marshals or other officers or their deputies watch night and day, during this year of Jubilee, the roads and streets by which people come to Rome, and also the inns and hostelries where they resort to or lodge ; so as to keep them free of robbers, highwaymen and other such criminals ; in order that travellers to and from Rome may come and go and put up everywhere. And if, what God forbid, any one should be plundered or made to suffer in his person, We decree that any Lord or authority in whose territory such crimes shall have been committed, be held to restitution of all stolen goods and of their interest ; and if they neglect to make restitution, We shall proceed to more severe penalties. And should they neglect or defer to compensate the injuries caused to the traveller, We command the Governor of the City and the presidents of the apostolic chamber to inquire into the complaint of the injured person, and to inflict upon them any ecclesiastical censures, reprisals and other more severe penalties, including deprivation of their fiefs and authority, until full compensation of damages, expenses and interest be made [18].

Ludovico Sforza, the duke of Milan, was not amenable to the temporal power of pope Alexander VI, nor did the pontifical bull have any influence upon his ordinary inhuman cruelty. During the few first months of the year 1500, when he had possession again of his duchy, recently conquered by king Louis XII, he incited his subjects to rob and maltreat every Frenchman that ventured to pass through his territory, to or from Rome, and he paid a gold ducat for every pilgrim

18. See Document 138.

from France whom they should murder [19]. Louis XII afterwards took a fearful revenge by burning down, together with their inhabitants, several hostelries where the crimes had been committed [20], and punished the numerous misdeeds of duke Ludovico himself, by casting him in a dungeon for several years.

Nor did the papal orders and threats debar all evil from the Pontifical States. The multitudes of visitors offered an opportunity to pickpockets in Rome ; but no detected injustice escaped unpunished. On the 27th of May, 1500, was publicly hanged in the city a physician of the hospital of St. John of Lateran, who had administered poison instead of medecine to patients, whom he knew from a nurse to be possessed of money, which, after their death, he divided with the attendant [21].

On the 13th of that month, René d'Agrimont, ambassador of France, entered Rome with his servants, after being robbed on the previous day of all his baggage ; and one of his noble companions with an attendant were severely wounded, at a place between Monte Fiascone and Viterbo, on territory of the Colonna. The Pope, exasperated by the occurrence, wrote at once to Fabricius Colonna, ordering him to arrest the brigands and to send them to Rome. Fifteen of them were, indeed, surrendered to the Roman authorities, who hanged thirteen of the most guilty, together with a few other criminals, on the following 27th [22]. The Florentine ambassador, Ant. Malagonnelle, wrote on the 23d that the robbery was variously imputed to the bandits of Todi or of Viterbo, to the Corsicans or to the Colonnese ; but the Pope, who probably was more correctly informed, sent out, on the same 23d,

19. Gilles, Annales et Croniques de France, t. II, f° 120 ; Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1500, no. XXIV.

20. Gilles, ibid.

21. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 45.

22. Ibid., pp. 39, 45.

several mounted messengers with a proclamation ordering, under the most severe penalties, that all Corsicans, whether men or women, should, after ten days, be expelled form the Pontifical States, or forfeit all their property and be imprisoned [23]. Those islanders made for themselves such a reputation by their thefts and murders, that already pope Sixtus IV had forbidden their admission into the territories of the Church, unless each one of them should deposit two hundred ducats as a guaranty of future good conduct [24].

To secure the pilgrims against pirates, the Pope ordered a war vessel to cruise in the neighborhood of Ostia [25].

Already on the 26th of November, 1498, pope Alexander VI had enjoined upon the cardinal of St. George to confer with the " Conservatores " of Rome and experts, on the subject of roads and bridges, to learn what might be done in order that foreign wayfarers might safely and commodiously pass over them [26] ; and, on the 25th of May, 1500, he actually gave orders to repair the roads between Terni, Narni and Otricoli, for the accommodation of strangers coming to the City to gain the indulgence [27].

After grossly exaggerating the dangers from malefactors in Rome, Gregorovius grudgingly admits that, in spite of the Pontiff's corruption, he says, a sufficient number of pilgrims, " pilger genug, " especially from Bohemia, filled the City [28]. Bérault Bercastel pretends that, owing to the lawlessness of Rome and the crimes of the Pontiff, he also says, the number of pilgrims of this centenary Jubilee remained below the average [29]. In reality, the number of visitors

23. Ibid., pp. 42, 45 footn.
24. Theiner, Codex Diplomat. S. Sedis, t. III, p. 484.
25. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 481.
26. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXVI, 10, fo 25vo.
27. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1497-1501. Armar. 29. no. 53, fo 107vo.
28. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 435 ; Lucrez. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 140.
29. Hist. de l'Eglise, t. X, p. 605.

was extraordinarily great, if we can believe the contemporary writers who speak of the Jubilee.

Sigismondo dei Conti relates [30] that innumerable multitudes of men, from the most distant parts of Christendom, streamed together into Rome that year, and, as it is expressed by an ingenious poet, the great World was in the City, " Ingens Orbis in Urbe fuit. "

Pietro Delphini wrote from Florence, on the 24th of January, 1500 [31] : I learn from you as I was informed by others before this time, that there has been a continual flow to the City, and I rejoice in seeing that at the present time of unbelief and of moral depravity, there is no want of devout and pious souls to give testimony in favor of the Christian religion. Blessed be God who has brought together such crowds, as witnesses to his Majesty and to the Catholic faith.

Burchard relates [32] that the people who received the benediction of the Pope, after the morning services of Holy Thursday, on April 16th, 1500, were estimated to be a hundred thousand, and those gathered on the piazza of St. Peter, to receive the papal blessing on Easter Sunday, were computed at two hundred thousand. These numbers are significant, when we know that the population of Rome did not, at this time, amount to forty thousand.

Trithemius [33] relates that, during the Jubilee year of 1500, there were hastening from Germany to Rome men and women, widows and young maids, young men and old people, monks and nuns, intermingled and jumbled together, so that it was a sight worthy of the admiration of a wise man.

A writer of the following century, Mariana [34], equally says that it is impossible to describe the concourse of people in

30. Le Storie de' suoi Tempi, t II, p. 218.
31. Epistol. Lib. VI, Epist. 26.
32. Diar., t. III, pp. 36, 37.
33. Chron. Sponheim, 412, ap. Janssen, Gesch. des Deut. Volkes, 9te Aufl. Bd. I, s. 609, footn.
34. Hist. d'Espagne, t. V, p. 292.

Rome during the whole Jubilee year ; crowds from all parts of the Christian world, from distant countries as well as from neighboring provinces all together, to gain the indulgence and to see the capital of Christianity, the teacher of truth, the center and sanctuary of religion.

Thousands of pilgrims [35] fell victims to pestilence, that raged in parts of the Pontifical States and in Rome itself [36] ; but nothing could deter them, the crowds continued until the end, so that the Pope felt obliged to extend the time set, which he did by his bull " Commissum nobis " of December the 16th [37], and so the Golden Door could not be walled up before the 6th of January, 1501 [38].

Among the pilgrims were several personages of prominence and of eminent social rank. Such were Nicholas Copernicus, of whom we shall speak later on. The Lord Spitkhode of Jaroslaw, the Baron of Cracow, both of Galicia in Poland ; and the Count of Sandria, head of the Hungarian court, served the Pope, on Easter Sunday, at the washing of hands [39]. Elizabeth Gonzaga, duchess of Urbino, went to Rome to gain the Jubilee, while Ercole, duke of Ferrara, was prevented from going by a fall from his horse [40]. Burchard also relates [41] that the Duke of Sagan, or Zeigan and of Volhinia or Wollin, on the confines of Poland and of Lithuania, a man of ninety-one years of age, made the journey to Rome with about twenty horsemen, to gain the indulgence. On All Saints, November 1st, 1500, he occupied a seat, during divine service, on the highest step of the papal throne.

The streets leading to the four basilicas were full of people moving on all day long, and, from time to time, regular

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35. 30,800, Pastor says ; Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 481.
36. Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 201 ; Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 95.
37. Burchard, ibid., p. 88.
38. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 92.
39. Ibid., p. 37.
40. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste. Bd. III. s. 482.
41. Diar., t. III, p. 84.

processions of pilgrims took place. Gregorovius relates [42] that Alfonso, duke of Bisceglia, and his wife, Lucretia de Borgia, set an example when, on the 1st of January, 1500, they solemnly rode to visit St. John of Lateran and the other three churches, followed by two hundred men on horseback and a large number of men and women of the Roman nobility.

On Sunday, the 9th of August, a great number of people started from the church of St. Lawrence " in Damaso, " with the image of the Glorious Virgin, to make the prescribed visits to the basilicas. Laymen and all the clergy of the church marched in rank ; and about fifteen thousand women, all carrying lighted candles, followed the sacred picture. The Pope is said to have granted the Jubilee indulgence to each of the participants [43]. A similar procession went to St. Peter's from the Augustinian church, and yet another, also with the image of the Blessed Virgin, from " Santa Maria in Porticu, " on the 26th of the same month. Confraternities and a great many people, holding lighted candles or torches in their hands, passed the Vatican, where the Pope blessed them from a window of his apartments and granted them the indulgence [44].

A public pilgrimage to Rome took place all the way from Naples. The painting of Our Lady " del Carmine " was carried in front and followed by a pious multitude, some of whom joined with prayer works of severe penance [45].

The year 1500 was a year of great solemnities in Rome. The Pontiff had ordered the " Sudarium " or cloth of St. Veronica, bearing upon it, according to a Roman tradition, the imprint of Our Lord's sacred face, which was usually shown but two or three times a year, to be now shown to the crowds of pilgrims every Sunday [46] ; and every day divine service

42. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 137.
43. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 71.
44. Ibid., p. 74.
45. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 481.
46. Burchard, ubi supra, p. 16.

was held with great pomp, enhanced by the presence of the cardinals, who were forbidden to absent themselves from the City [47].

ARTICLE II. — EXTENSIONS OF THE JUBILEE.

Cantu mistakes [48] when he says that the modern custom of extending the Jubilee to the whole Catholic world, on the next following year, dates from the time of pope Alexander VI. This Pontiff renewed, indeed, his grant of the Jubilee indulgence, but only in favor of specified countries, provinces or cities, according to special requests or considerations, by bulls of different dates, both during and after the holy year 1500.

The ordinary features of these bulls were the concession of a plenary indulgence, on the condition of receiving the Sacrament of Penance, of piously visiting the churches and, for those able to do so, of contributing a small sum towards the defense of holy religion against the further incursions of the cruel Turks. To the confessors, who were either appointed or could be chosen by the faithful, were given all the faculties enjoyed by the penitentiaries of St. Peter's basilica, to absolve from all sins and ecclesiastical censures, etc., while all other plenary indulgences and privileges were suspended for the place and time of each particular concession.

Among these Jubilee extensions, made by pope Alexander VI, we found the following :

On the 22d of May, 1500, to the kingdoms of Hungary and Poland. Having learned that the Kings of these countries were willing to undertake war against the Turks, the

47. Ibid., p. XXXI.

48. Réforme en Italy, Disc. XIII, p. 497.

Pope assisted them with all the money that he could afford and, to secure them all possible help from their own subjects, he sent them with his commissary, the bishop of Cagli, a bull granting all the favors of the Roman Jubilee, provided the faithful should join or otherwise aid the royal armies, or pay a fourth part of their probable expenses in making a journey to Rome, staying there two weeks and returning home ; the money to be placed at the order of the Kings, for the intended expedition [49].

On July the 15th, to the city and diocese of Faenza, at the request of its community and of Cesar de Borgia, its papal Vicar in temporalities. The Pontiff allows the privileges of the Jubilee to all who will visit three times the cathedral and three other churches to be designated by the bishop, and there, kneeling down, recite seven Our Fathers and Hail Marys, and make, according to their devotion, an offering for the restoration of the same cathedral [50].

On the 19th of September, to the town and duchy of Gandia, at the petition of the dowager duchess, Mary Enriquez. The people may gain the Jubilee by saying seven times the Lord's prayer and the Angelical Salutation at each of the five visits to be made to the main, and three other altars of St. Mary's church of Gandia, and contributing five soles of the country's money towards the repairs of that church. The local dean was named to appoint the confessors, who would have all the faculties of the penitentiaries of St. Peter's in Rome [51].

On the 26th of the same month, the Roman Jubilee was extended to the principality of Valachia, in the Eastern parts of Hungary, by a bull of the same wording, " mutatis mutandis, " as the one given for Hungary, four months before [52].

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49. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. IV ad VIII. Lib. VI, Regest. 872, f° 127.

50. Ibid., Secret. An. I ad XI. Lib. V, Regest. 871, f° 1.

51. Ibid. Alex. VI. Bull. Div. An. IV ad XI, t. IV, Regest. 882, f° 60vo.

52. Ibid., f° 55.

On the 5th of October, pope Alexander VI sent to Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Friesland and Prussia, his Legate, cardinal Raymund Pérault, to publish the Jubilee in those countries. The faithful should, according to directions of the cardinal or his deputies, devoutly visit a number of times certain churches, chapels or altars, and make an offering proportionate to their means towards an expedition in defense of religion against the Turks, or join the armies, or make themselves useful to these. Those unable to make the visits, could send their donation and pray at home for the success of the Christian arms. A plenary indulgence could also be gained for the souls in purgatory by further pious visits and almsgiving. All the moneys collected were to be sent, with authentic accounts, to the papal treasury, and to be spent exclusively in defence against the Turks. This bull, extending the time of the Jubilee, should become null and void after two years from the next Christmas [53].

In the year 1500, at about the same date, the Pope extended the Roman Jubilee to the whole of France, outside of Italy, for all who would fulfill the ordinary conditions and donate, towards the defence of Christianity against the Turks, a fourth part of the probable expenses of a journey to Rome, but this amount was reduced by the cardinal George d'Amboise, the papal commissary, to the costs of a three days' travel [54]. The time to gain the indulgence had expired already on the 19th of January, when the Pontiff renewed it, with all the same conditions, for a period from the first day of the coming Lent to the next feast of Pentecost inclusive [55].

By his bull of the 9th of November, pope Alexander VI

53. Copy of a Vidimus by Berthold, archbishop of Mainz, Munich, K. Staatsbibl. Cod. Lat. 434, f° 241 ; Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- und Staatsarch. Osterr. 1500, 5 Oktober.

54. Dion. Samarthanus, Gallia Christiana, t. XI, p. 94. Lib. V, Regest. 871, f° 146.

55. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I ad XI. Lib. V, Regest. 871, f° 146.

declared his incapability to defray the expenses in resisting the threatening power of the Turks, and frankly admitted that his spiritual favors were granted to incite the faithful towards lending him a helping hand. He, therefore, extends all the Jubilee privileges to all Italy, from the day of publication of the present letters until the feast of Pentecost, on the condition that those who are able should contribute one fourth of the expenses of journeying to Rome [56]. He named as his commissary, with right of subdelegating, the Observantine Ludovicus de la Turre, the Cismontane Vicar General of the Franciscan Order ; and, on the 22d of December, he recommended to all his Lieutenants and Governors of the Pontifical States, to help his commissary towards the success of his mission [57]. By a brief of the 5th of January, 1501, he amplified the faculties of de la Turre, making them operative in favor of the inmates of all the provinces subject to his Cisalpine vicariate [58]. On the last day of April, 1501, the Pontiff prolonged the time of the Jubilee, for the Italian countries, till the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and conceded, moreover, that those who had gained the indulgence already, even in Rome, could obtain it again by offering one half of what they had contributed the first time [59].

The Pope, being informed that the cathedral of Posen, located outside the city walls, was exposed to repeated robberies, granted, towards the end of the year 1500, the Jubilee privileges, for the feast of All Saints and the two following days, to the city of Posen and four other cities of that diocese, on the condition that those desirous to gain them should make an offering of one fourth of the costs of a journey to Rome, one third of which was to be paid to the

56. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 94 ; Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 201, who gives the 19th of December as the date of this bull.

57. Wadding, ibid., p. 208.
58. Ibid., p. 209.
59. Ibid., p. 210.

papal treasury, or to the papal collector of Poland, from whose hands it should pass into those of the King, for his warfare against the Turks, and two thirds should be devoted to the building of defensive walls around the Posen cathedral [60].

On the 12th of January, 1501, the Pontiff conceded the Jubilee privileges to all the territories of the republic of Venice, even to those across the seas, for the space of time from the next first day of Lent until the feast of Pentecost, according to the conditions imposed upon the Italians by his bull of the previous 9th of November [61].

Probably on the 23d of April, when the Pope also appointed the cardinal d'Aubusson as captain general of the Christian allies against the Turks, he charged him with the publication of the Jubilee in the island of Rhodes and in all the other islands of his Order, for a space of six months. The usual Jubilee contributions were to alleviate the cardinal's burdens of perpetual warfare against the Turks [62].

Pope Alexander VI had already extended the Roman Jubilee to all the territories of Philip, archduke of Austria and Burgundy ; but, as financial help was still much needed to oppose the Turks, he prorogued, on the 30th of September, 1501, the time for gaining the indulgence, for a whole year from the first day of the next coming Lent. No doubt, the conditions were as the following prescribed for the diocese of Besançon [63].

Belgium and the dioceses of Cambrai and Tournay received duplicates of the same pontifical letters [64].

In the year 1500, probably on September the 30th, the Pontiff extended a second time, at the request of archduke

60. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I ad XI. Lib. V. Regest. 871, f° 23.
61. Ibid., f° 32.
62. Ciaconius, Vitae Roman. Pontiff., t. III, col. 138.
63. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Secret. An. VIII ad XI. Lib. II. Regest. 868, f° 87.
64. Ibid.

Philip, the Jubilee privileges to the city and diocese of Besançon, from Ash Wednesday to the Octave of Easter of the year 1502 ; on the condition that the faithful should receive the Sacrament of Penance, visit the churches designated by the bishop and make an offering of one fourth of the expenses of a journey to Rome, the amount of which could be determined, moderated or even remitted to the poor, by the bishop or his deputies. These were also to appoint the confessors, who would have all the faculties of the penitentiaries of St. Peter's basilica. The money collected should be sent to the pontifical treasury [65].

The Pontiff had granted to the duchy of Lorraine and Bar a first extension of the Jubilee indulgence, which lasted to the feast of Corpus Christi. On the 1st of May, 1502, he extended the time until the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin. The conditions were like in Germany : confession, visits to assigned churches or altars and a voluntary donation [66].

The Jubilee had not been published yet in Corsica when, on the 24th of September, the Pope wrote to his commissary, de la Turre, that he wanted the faithful of that Island to participate in the universal benefit. He set the time for the Corsicans from the date of his brief to the Octave of the following Easter. Besides the Jubilee faculties, the confessors would have the right of convalidating, also " in foro externo, " before the civil court, all marriages they would find to be invalid through an impediment of the second or any remoter degree [67].

Finally, there was a Jubilee extension of the 23d of October, 1501, in favor of Portugal. The Pope had granted the indulgence to all who would contribute a certain sum to the royal treasury, during the time that king Emmanuel was

65. Ibid., f° 81.
66. Ibid., f° 103.
67. Wadding, Annal. Min., t. XV, p. 211.

fighting the Moors in Africa. The faithful had been allowed a confessor to absolve them from all but a few reserved sins. This time they could be absolved from even those reserved cases, provided the King should turn his fleet against the Turks. They could also apply the indulgence to the souls of purgatory, provided they contributed to the King's navy eighty reals of that country, that is, two and two thirds of a Roman silver carleno ; they could, moreover, gain the indulgence for the suffering souls and obtain the right of choosing their confessor as often as they would renew the donation [68].

ARTICLE III. — JUBILEE MONEYS.

As we have noticed in our succinct report of the various Jubilee extensions, the offerings of the faithful were destined for the defence of Christianity against the threatening incursions of the cruel Turks. All Jubilee alms and contributions in the territories of Venice were handed over to the Venetian Seigniory [69]. Only on a few minor occasions could they be applied to the improvement of churches, as in Faenza, Gandia and Posen. Even, in this last city, a third of the proceeds could be paid to the papal collector of Poland, to help king Albert in his wars against the Infidels. In Poland itself and in Hungary all the Jubilee collections were, for the same purpose, to be handed directly to the Kings of those countries. Cardinal Peter d'Aubusson, the Captain of the Christians against the Turkish emperor, was allowed to retain all the money of the Jubilee extension published by him. Likewise the contributions of the Portuguese were to go into king Emmanuel's coffers, in behalf of his promised enterprise against

68. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., An. VIII ad XI. Lib. II. Regest. 868, fo 117vo.

69. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 483-484.

the common enemy. The Jubilee money of all other countries was to be deposited in the pontifical treasury, and to be applied exclusively for the defence of religion against the Turks, who were preparing for further irruptions.

The princes of Germany, however, both lay and cleric, who lived in luxury, while some of their provinces, like Croatia, were devastated by the Infidels, were already grumbling, and refusing to pay to the Pope, his common dues, known as the " Annata ", which were willingly paid by all other Christians [70]. The electors and counsellors of the Empire objected to any German money being confided to the Pope, whose intentions and purposes they pretended to doubt, and they withheld the publication of the bull of the Jubilee extension for Germany. Here is a sample of their slanderous gossip. A certain Nicolas von Siegen wrote : " O ! If the intention of the Sovereign Pontiff were but sincere, right and perfect, and if the money donated were but used for a due and pious ecclesiastical purpose, as it ought to be ! It is not mine nor our right to judge our prelates, nor to raise our head against Heaven, nor to judge the Sovereign Pontiff ; but this much is true, that I myself have heard and it was said, although whether the thing happened so in truth I do not know, nor am I obliged to know : When the apostolic legate came to the Pope, just then the Pope celebrated the solemn nuptials of his daughter, and the legate poured into the bride's lap, if I remember well, forty-one thousand florins or ducats [71] (!). Von Siegen's ridiculous calumny is rehearsed

70. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv. Cod. M. M. f° 42vo.

71. O si intentio summi pontificis esset sincera, recta et perfecta, et pecunia oblata ad debitum et pium ecclesiasticum exponeretur usum, sicut debet. Meum et nostrum non est judiciare praelatos neque in coelum os ponere neque judicare Summum Pontificem : Sed hoc verum est, quod ego audivi et dictum fuit, an autem in veritate res sic se habuit ignoro et scire non teneor : legatus apostolicus veniens ad papam, tunc papa suae filiae nuptias solemnes celebravit, legatus ad sinum sponsae obtulit, si recte retinui, 41000 florenorum aut ducatorum.

still by von Pastor, who asserts [72] that the Pope unhesitatingly gave the Jubilee revenues to Cesar de Borgia, who needed them for his enterprises in Romagna. But neither does the great historian know whether the thing was so in truth, nor does he offer any proof of it whatever. We shall presently return to this slander.

As soon as pope Alexander VI learned of the opposition of the Germans to the publication of the Jubilee in their country, he wrote a brief to the cardinal, his legate, declaring his willingness to give the offerings of the people to the imperial treasury, provided the emperor elect were willing to join in a general war against the Turks, and that no part of the collections should be spent for any other purpose [73]. The cardinal exposed the Pope's proposal to the German princes gathered at the diet of Nuremberg, and when they had understood that the money would be remitted in their hands, they gave, on the 11th of September, 1501, their consent to the publication, allowed the legate one third of the receipts, for his support and the salaries of his deputies and employees, and solemnly bound themselves not to touch the sacred revenues for any object other than the war against the Turks [74]. Maximilian himself wrote to the cardinal, on the 22d of November, to encourage him in the publication of the Jubilee bull, but added that, since he was willing to undertake an expedition against the Turks, the money ought to be placed in his hands [75].

Whatever may have become of this money, the fact is that the Pope never saw a penny of it, and that emperor Maximilian never made war on the Turks. Cardinal Pérault was said to have written to the French king that he had fled from Germany, because the emperor wanted to appropriate by

72. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 483.
73. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv, Cod. M. M. f[11s] 87, 88vo.
74. See Document 139.
75. See Document 140.

force the Jubilee collections, but a German ambassador answered, on the 4th of September, 1502, that such was an invention of the French and that the cardinal was in Strassburg at the time [76]. It is true, however, that on the 27th of August, 1503, another ambassador, Lucas de Renaldis, advised Maximilian and the princes of the empire to lay hands on the Jubilee collections, in order to raise an army in defence of the Spaniards against the French in the kingdom of Naples : and this he called a defence of the liberty of the Church ! [77].

The amount of money received by the Pope from the Jubilee and its extensions has been greatly exaggerated, and some of his enemies, like Nardi [78], Muratori [79] and Fabronius [80], besides Pastor and one or two other Germans, have accused him of misusing it, to enrich his imputed children.

He ordered the donations of the pilgrims at the four principal churches of Rome to be brought to his treasury, but from these resources he paid the expenses incidental to their collection, one fifth of their amount, to the canons and chapters of those churches, and for the salaries of the penitentiaries of St. Peter's [81] ; he repaired St. Peter's basilica [82], paved its approaches and the whole of its public square, built a beautiful fountain to adorn it [83], paid for a new street leading to the Vatican and made numerous other improvements in and out of the City.

The contributions of the faithful, determined by the bulls of Jubilee extension, were often lessened or remitted by the

76. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchivs, Maximiliana, 1502, Sept. 4.
77. Ibid., 1503, Aug. 17.
78. Storie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 254.
79. ap. Becchetti, Ult. Quattro Secoli, t. VI, p. 313.
80. Leonis X. Vita, p. 32.
81. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1497-1501. Lib. III. Armar. 29, no. 53, f° 129vo.
82. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati 1501-1503, f° 103.
83. Ibid. Introitus et Exitus, vol. 532, passim ; Rome, Archiv. di Stato 1501-1503, f^lis 79, 83, 93, 100, 106, 112

papal commissaries or their subdelegates, the salaries of these and of other officials and the incidental expenses were deducted from them, and the remainder was, in many instances, received in Rome tardily, only in part or not at all. Thus we see that, in the archdiocese of Salzburg, Nicolas, bishop of Monteleone, finished only, on the 16th of April, 1503, depositing in the treasury of Salzburg the Jubilee collections of that province, about three thousand ducats, and drew them out but three years after [84]. As late as January the 10th, 1516, pope Leo X gave charge to the Franciscan, Bernardino Tholomaeo, to exact payment of collections made in virtue of the Jubilee under pope Alexander VI [85] !

The sums of money actually received from the Jubilee extensions were spent in war against the Turks, of which pope Alexander VI was the leader and the soul, as soon as, and even before, they were received [86]. The Pontiff had to pay for the support of the legates whom he constantly kept at the principal courts of Europe to promote peace among the Christians and war against the Infidels ; for several years he paid to the king of Hungary a yearly war subsidy of forty thousand ducats, and spent an enormous sum in building and equipping in Venice a fleet of fifteen war-vessels. To cover all these and other expenses, the Jubilee collections were insufficient, and the Pope was compelled to create other sources of income, as we shall notice in speaking of his enterprises against the Turks.

That Pope Alexander VI spent any Jubilee money on

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84. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv, 1503, Salzburg, E. 9.

85. Hergenroether, Leonis X. Regesta, p. 397.

86. Rome, Archivio di Stato, Mandati 1501-1503, f[lis] 88vo, 93vo.

Lucretia de Borgia, there is neither proof nor probability. Cesar de Borgia was, at the time, the captain general of the papal army and was fighting the Pope's battles against his rebellious vassals. It was but just that the Pope should pay him and provide him with the money necessary to pay his hired troops. Yet, the sums confided to Cesar, of which we can see the accounts in the papal treasury books, are relatively small, and the Pope was well able to pay them from his ordinary income, in the years 1501 and 1502, as he had done in the years previous to the Jubilee, when Cesar's needs had not been any less.

CHAPTER XIV.

Alexander VI and the Sacred College.

ARTICLE I. — CREATION OF CARDINALS.

In finishing our report of the ecclesiastical government of pope Alexander VI, we should not fail to observe that the Sacred College of Cardinals co-operated with him, through their deliberations, advice or consent, in all his acts of any special importance, concerning either spiritual or temporal affairs. Although the Constitution of the Church is essentially monarchical, this Pope loved to temper his supreme authority with the wisdom of his eminent counsellors [1], with whom he consulted once or twice every month [2]. The minutes of the consistories show that the cardinals spoke their opinion freely and that the Pontiff never took any serious resolution, but after attentively listening to them.

Not to be deprived of their counsel and assistance, he required their regular presence at the Roman court, and made a rule that absentees should not share in the monthly distributions of incidental emoluments. He not only filled the occurring vacancies in the Sacred College, but, in the course of time, doubled the number of its members. On successive occasions he created no less than forty-six or forty-seven new cardinals, that were to sustain his authority and help him solve the difficult problems of his reign.

The cardinals created by pope Alexander VI formed a body of eminent and virtuous men, of whom Sigismondo de' Conti

1. Corio, Storia di Milano, vol. III, p. 539.
2. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Codices XXXVI, 7, 10 ; Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds Lat. Codices 12554, 12555.

writes [3], that many among them were distinguished by their noble birth, their talents, learning, eloquence and moral excellence. The Venetian Senate wrote on the 23d of August, 1503, [4] : At the demise of the Pontiff, " it is a consolation for us to see in the Sacred College so many Most Reverend Fathers eminent by their piety, their prudence and their goodness, " who, we are confident, will soon give us a Vicar of Christ approved by all Christians. In fact, those cardinals themselves, pope Pius III, Victorelli and Aegidius of Viterbo [5] praise in a like manner the cardinals created by pope Alexander VI, and even the enemies of this Pontiff have little of blame and much of commendation for his cardinalitial promotions [6].

These were as follows :

On the 31st of August, 1492 :

Giovanni de Borgia, the older, born at Valencia, the Pope's first cousin, administrator-bishop of Monreale, was created cardinal of the title of St. Susanna, and afterwards generally called Cardinal of Monreale. Jerome Porcius asserts [7] that he was promoted at the urgent and repeated request of the Sacred College ; and Manfredi wrote from Florence, that " the Pope had given him quarters in the palace, in order to have him with himself ; because he is a most excellent man and able to attend to business " [8]. He died, August the 1st, 1503.

The Pontiff created twelve cardinals, on the 20th of September, 1493 [9]. The prelates selected were :

3. Le Storie de' suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 271.
4. Villari, Disp. di Giustinian, vol. II, p. 460.
5. Ciaconius, Vitae Roman. Pontiff. Add. Victor, p. 151.
6. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 301.
7. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. B. B. B. I, 13.
8. Cappelli, Atti e Memor... Moden. e Parmen., t. IV. p. 324.
9. Pastor. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 300, n. 3 ; Becchetti, Ult. Quattro Secoli, t. VI, p. 225; Mariana, ap. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1493 no. XXXIII. Ciaconius (Vitae Roman. Pontiff. p. 167) and Cardella mistake in giving the date as August the

John Morton, an Englishman, archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor of king Henry VII, was made cardinal of St. Anastasia and usually called the cardinal of Canterbury. He is highly praised by Thomas More. He died in the year 1500.

John Anthony Sangiorgio, of Milan, bishop of Alessandria, was created cardinal of SS. Nereus and Achileus, and generally known under the name of cardinal of Alessandria. He was a prince of jurisconsults in both canon and civil law and esteemed for his great integrity. He died March 4th, 1509.

Francis de la Grolaye, a Frenchman, abbot of St. Denis and former ambassador of Charles VIII to Ferdinand of Spain and to the Pope, became cardinal of St. Sabina and was called the cardinal of St. Denis. He was a most worthy man and the author of many learned works. He died on August the 6th, 1499.

Bernardinus de Carvajal, highly born at Trujillo in Spain, at that time bishop of Plasencia, was named cardinal of the H. Cross in Jerusalem, and often called cardinal of Siguenza. He was eminent through his science of theology and his eloquence and was greatly esteemed at the papal court. He committed, however, the grave mistake of convoking the conciliabulum of Pisa, and died, December 16th, 1522.

Raymund Pérault, or Peraudi, born at Sugère in France, bishop of Gurk in Carinthia, was, at the request of emperor Maximilian, made cardinal of St. Mary in Cosmedin, but was always called the cardinal of Gurk. He was a man of the purest life, imbued with a high sense of justice and full of zeal for the defence of religion ; a confidant of cardinals and Popes and a friend of princes and kings. He died on the 5th of September, 1505.

21st. The disparaging report of Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 84, is an interpolation from the unreliable Infessura, as Thuasne notifies his readers, ibid., p. 77, n. 2.

Cesar de Borgia, born in Valencia, second nephew of the Pope, archbishop of his native city, was created cardinal of Santa Maria Nova, and universally called the cardinal of Valencia. He was at the time a young man of but eighteen years, but of great promise and of an excellent nature [10]. He died on March the 12th, 1507.

Hippolyte d'Este, son of Ercole, duke of Ferrara, archbishop of Gran, fifteen years of age, was created cardinal of St. Lucia in Silice and commonly called the cardinal of Este. He died, September 3d, 1520.

Frederic Casimir of Poland, son of king Casimir and brother of king Ladislas of Hungary, bishop of Cracow, was made cardinal of St. Lucia in Septem soliis. He enriched his nobility with deep learning and a saintly life. He died on December 12th, 1502.

Juliano de Cæsarinis, a Roman nobleman and a secretary apostolic, was named cardinal of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, and usually called the cardinal de Cæsarinis. He lived a quiet and edifying life and has left us a reliable report of the stay of king Charles VIII in Rome. He died, May 1st, 1510.

Dominic Grimani, son of a doge of Venice, was made cardinal of St. Nicholas inter Imagines, and generally called the patriarch of Aquileia. He was renowned for his theological science and has left many writings. He died on the 7th of August, 1523.

Alexander Farnese, a Roman baron, bishop of Corneto and treasurer general of the Pope, was created cardinal of SS. Cosmas and Damian and known as cardinal Farnese. He advanced in virtue and, by his integrity, prudence and skill proved himself worthy of the sacred purple. On the

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10. Sigismondo de' Conti, Le Storie, t. II, p. 61.

21st of October, 1534, he was unanimously elected as pope Paul II. His demise took place on November 10th, 1549.

Bernardin de Lunate, or Lunati, born in Pavia, was created cardinal of St. Cyriacus in Thermis, and called the cardinal de Lunate. He died August the 8th, 1497.

It is doubtful at what time was promoted Luigi, or Aloysius de Aragonia as cardinal of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, generally called the cardinal of Aragon. Becchetti [11] mistakes in counting him as the thirteenth prelate elevated on the 20th of September, 1493. There is an agreement between pope Alexander VI and Alfonso, king of Naples, of the 28th of March, 1494 [12], by one of whose articles it is stipulated that the Marquis of Giraci, Don Loise of Aragonia, nephew of the King, shall receive from the Pope a cardinal's hat, before the end of the coming month of May. He was created " in petto, " and published, according to Panvinius, in the year 1496 ; and on the 1st of January, 1497, he was placed by Burchard among the regular cardinals [13]. Aloysius de Aragonia is often asserted to be a natural son of Ferdinand of Naples ; but he was, in fact, a lawful son of that King's bastard, Henry [14].

There is no trace in any common history of the promotion by pope Alexander VI of a Portuguese to the cardinalitial dignity ; but such an advancement is stated in an Article, " Episcopologio di Ceuta, " of the Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia [15], written by José Xiqués, dean of Ceuta, upon documents preserved in the archives of that diocese.

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11. Ult. Quattro Secoli, t. VI, p. 225.

12. Archiv. Cast. S. Angeli, Armar. 2, Capsa 5, no. 39 gg.

13. Diar., t. II, p. 348.

14. Rome, Bibl. Corsin. Cod. 1323, fo 15vo ; Guicciardini, Storia d'Italia, Lib. I, Cap. 2, p. 53 ; Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds fr. Cod. 12186 : A translation of Tomasi, who was able to know ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 206.

15. Madrid, t. XVIII. Mayo, 1891, p. 405.

He mentions, among the bishops, D. Juan de Noroña y Meneses, son of the second governor of that city, and adds : " In 1494, he was named cardinal by Alexander VI. "

At the oral request of king Charles VIII, then in Rome [16], pope Alexander VI raised to the dignity of a cardinal, on the 16th of January, 1495, William Briçonet, the King's beloved counsellor and bishop of St. Malo. The Pope himself tendered him all the cardinalitial insignia [17], and gave him the title church of St. Pudentiana. The Pope granted the promotion to please the King and to moderate his exigencies, " volentes pro temporis necessitate consulere, " as he expresses it; nor was the recipient undeserving of the honor ; for it was counsellor Briçonet who induced the proud King to enter into the agreement concluded with the Pope [18], and reduced to naught, if there was any need of it, the alleged wishes of Giuliano della Rovere and of other hostile cardinals, to disturb the Pontiff in his spiritual authority. He died on December 14th, 1515.

At the insistence of Charles VIII, the Pope also created cardinal on the following 21st of January, Philip of Luxembourg, the King's first cousin, bishop of Le Mans. In his letters of promotion [19], the Pontiff names him cardinal of SS. Peter and Marcellinus and he gives him also all the insignia and rights of his dignity, yet he mentions again the difficulties of the time. The cardinal of Le Mans, as he was generally called, proved to be a loyal assistant of the Pope ;

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16. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 222.

17. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Bull. An. II, III. t. XVI. Regest 787, f° 272.

18. Giovanni Stella, ap. Leonetti, Papa Alessandro VI, t. III, p. 526.

19. Cerri, Borgia ossia Alessandro VI Papa, vol. II, p. 153, follows the error of Panvinius, who retards the elevation of Philip of Luxembourg to the year 1497. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Officia, An. I, II, III. Lib. I, Regest. 876, f° 157. The bull is published by Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1496, no. XXXIX.

and he is designated in the gallican martyrology as a saint and thaumaturgus [20].

Pope Alexander VI had been deeply affected by the defection of several Italian cardinals, at the invasion of Italy by the French king, Charles VIII, and had resolved to increase the Sacred College by four Spanish trustworthy prelates, in order to strengthen his power with their counsel and their votes, as he intimates in his bull of their promotion. The recent change of the peninsula's political condition demonstrated the Pontiff's wisdom in the past; and all the cardinals present in Rome, twenty-one in number, even those who were disloyal the previous year, approved his action and signed the bull with him [21]. Thus were created the following new cardinals, on the 19th of February, 1496 :

Bartholomew Martini, of Valencia, a cousin of the Pope, bishop of Segorve and majordomo of the Vatican palace, was made cardinal of St. Agatha in Suburra. He died April 25th, 1500.

John de Castro, a nobleman of Aragon, bishop of Girgenti and castellan of Sant' Angelo, was created cardinal of St. Prisca. When pope Sixtus IV appointed him as bishop, he praised him for his honesty and brilliant virtues, and cardinal Caraffa caused to be written on his tombstone, that pope Alexander promoted him to the cardinalate, because of his wisdom, kindness and innocence of life. He died on October the 6th, 1506.

John Lopez, born in Valencia, confidant and datary of the Pontiff and bishop of Perugia, became cardinal of St. Mary in Transtyberim, and was generally called the cardinal of Capua. He died August 5th, 1501.

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20. Ciaconius, Vitae Roman. Pontiff., p. 167.

21. Archiv. Secret Vatic. Alex. VI. Secret. An. I ad Lib. VII, Regest. 873, f° 361.

Giovanni de Borgia, the younger, of Valencia, a second nephew of the Pope and bishop elect of Melfi, was made cardinal of St. Mary " in Via lata ", and was usually called the cardinal of Melfi. He was young, but an intelligent papal legate at various courts. He died January 17th, 1500.

On the 25th of June, 1498, was read in consistory a letter of Louis XII, king of France, asking the cardinalitial dignity for George d'Amboise, archbishop of Rouen. The request was granted on September the 12th, and Cesar de Borgia handed him the red hat on the 21st of the following December.

George d'Amboise was created cardinal of St. Sixtus and commonly called the cardinal of Rouen. He was afterwards viceroy of Milan and pope Alexander's zealous agent of reform in France. He died on May the 25th, 1510.

In the Annals of the Order of the Servites, we read, under the year 1499, that a Servite, named Father John, was sent by the duke of Saxony as an ambassador to pope Alexander VI, who made him a cardinal deacon of Santa Maria in Via Lata, and afterwards promoted him to be a cardinal priest of San Marcello. Cardinal John died soon after [22].

Burchard, on page 77, Diar., t. III, says that, on the 28th of September, 1500, twelve new cardinals were created ; and Pastor [23] simply admits the assertion. But, on page 79, the same Burchard relates the statement of the Pope, that, namely, he had created before that day, " dudum, " three new cardinals : Didacus de Mendoza, Amaneus d'Albret and Ludovico de Borgia. The date of that " dudum " is given by Becchetti as the 16th, and by Ciaconius as the 20th of March, 1500.

Didacus Hurtadus de Mendoza, a Spanish nobleman and archbishop of Seville, was named cardinal of St. Sabina and

22. Cerri, Borgia ossia Alessandro VI, t. II, p. 163.

23. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 431 and n. 4.

generally called the cardinal of Spain. He died on the 24th of October, 1502.

Amaneus d'Albret, born in France, of royal blood, a prothonotary apostolic, was made cardinal of St. Nicholas in Carcere. He was only twenty years old when promoted, but always proved to be a faithful cardinal, although his name has been abused to bolster up the conciliabulum of Pisa. He died December 20th, 1520.

Pedro Ludovico de Borgia, of Valencia, a second nephew of the Pope, brother of cardinal Giovanni, the younger, a Knight of St. John of Jerusalem, succeeded to his brother as archbishop of his native city and as cardinal of St. Mary in Via Lata. He died October 5th, 1511.

The following cardinals were created on the 28th of September, 1500.

James Serra, born in Catalonia, a first cousin of the Pope, archbishop of Oristano and Vicar General of the diocese of Rome, was created cardinal of St. Vital and commonly called the cardinal of Oristano. He was very devoted to the welfare of the Church. He died March the 15th, 1517.

Thomas Bakocz, a Hungarian, archbishop of Gran, was made cardinal of St. Silvester, at the request of the king of Hungary and of the republic of Venice. He was an exemplary prelate and received the dignity as a reward of his efforts against the Turks. He is often called the cardinal of Gran [24].

Petrus Isualles, or Isuela, Isvalies, Swaglies, born at Messina, archbishop of Reggio and a legate in Hungary, was created cardinal of St. Cyriacus in Thermis, and generally called the cardinal of Reggio. He died September the 24th, 1510.

Franciscus de Borgia, born in Spain, a first cousin of the

24. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste. Bd. III, s. 444 ; Ciaconius, Vitae Roman. Pontiff.

Pope, archbishop of Cosenza and treasurer of the Pontiff, was named cardinal of St. Lucia, and commonly called the cardinal of Cosenza. Raphael Volaterranus [25] praises him for piety and benevolence; but he rebelled against pope Julius II at the conciliabulum of Pisa. He died November 4th, 1511.

John Vera, a Spaniard, archbishop of Salerno, was created cardinal of St. Balbina and called the cardinal of Salerno. He was a learned jurisconsult and a worthy and humble prelate. He died on the 4th of May, 1507.

Ludovicus Podocatharus, a noble Cyprian, bishop of Capaccio and pontifical secretary, was named cardinal of St. Agatha in Suburra [26], and generally called the cardinal of Capaccio. He had a wide knowledge and was filled with religious zeal. He died August 25th, 1504.

Anthony Trivulzi, of Milan, bishop of Cuma, created cardinal of St. Anastasia and called the cardinal of Cuma, is highly praised by Ciaconius. He died on March the 18th, 1508.

John Baptist Ferrari, born in Modena, bishop of his native city and papal datary, was named cardinal of St. Chrysogonus and called the cardinal of Modena. Ciaconius says that he was elevated because of his honesty and hard work; but he seems to have been merciless in exacting all money due to the papal treasury and to have given occasion to accusations of avarice against the Pontiff. He died July the 27th, 1502.

Mark Cornaro, or Cornelius, a Venetian who had no benefice, was named cardinal of St. Mary in Porticu. He died on the 26th of July, 1524.

John Stephan Ferrerius, an Italian nobleman and bishop of

25. Anthropologia, Basileae 1544, fo 261vo.

26. Cardinals were often promoted from one titlechurch to another; we should not wonder, therefore, if the same title recurs in this list of cardinalitial nominations.

Bologna, was created " in petto " and proclaimed afterwards, as cardinal of St. Vitalis, on the 28th of June, 1502. He died March 5th, 1510.

Towards the end of the reign of pope Alexander VI, a few Italian cardinals had died, a few were either voluntarily or forcibly exiled from Italy, and others were opposing his policy of expelling the rebellious vassals of the Pontifical States. With the purpose, no doubt, of strengthening his power, the Pontiff made, with the consent and advice of the twenty-two cardinals present in Rome [27], on the 31st of May, 1503, a promotion of nine new cardinals, the greater number of whom were his countrymen and two his relatives.

John Castellar, of Valencia, a cousin of the Pope, archbishop of Trani and ambassador of Spain in Rome, was created cardinal of St. Mary in Transtyberim. He died January 1st, 1505.

Francis Remolino, born in Spain, archbishop of Sorento and governor of Rome, was made cardinal of SS. John and Paul. He was a man of profound learning. He died on the 5th of February, 1518.

Francis Soderini, a nobleman of Florence and bishop of Volterra, was created cardinal of St. Susanna. He was an intelligent and eloquent orator and well versed in many sciences. He died July 17th, 1524.

Melchior Copis, as he is often misnamed, was the son of Caspar a Meckaw, First coadjutor and then bishop of Brixen and counsellor of emperor Maximilian, he was, at the emperor's request, named cardinal of St. Nicholas inter Imagines [28]. He was a man of eminent virtues and merits [29]. He died May 3th, 1509.

27. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 466, n. 2.

28. Mallinckrot, De Archicancellariis, p. 182.

29. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- u. Staatsarchivs, Maximiliana, 1503, July (after the 29th).

Nicholas Fieschi, or de Flisco, a noble Genoese, bishop of Frejus, was named cardinal of St. Lucia in Septem Soliis. He died on the 14th of June, 1524.

Francis de Sprata, or Dezprats, born in Orense and bishop of Leon, was made cardinal of SS. Sergius and Bacchus. He died September 10th, 1504.

Hadrian Castellesi, born in Corneto, a papal treasurer and bishop of Hereford, was made cardinal of St. Chrysogonus. He conspired against pope Leo X, took to flight and died before the 16th of January, 1526.

James Casanova, of Valencia, who had been for many years a personal attendant of the Pontiff, became cardinal of St. Stephan in Monte Coelio. He died January 4th, 1504.

Francis Lloris y de Borgia, or de Flores, born in Valencia, a cousin of the Pope and bishop of Elna, was named cardinal of St. Sabina. He died on the 22d of July, 1506.

To the foregoing list of cardinals admitted by authors generally, Ciaconius, finally, adds John N., an eloquent envoy of the duke of Saxony to the Pontiff ; and Peter Ciera, a learned Venetian, the same person, no doubt, who is called Ceri, a learned and respectable sexagenarian of Venice, by Monsignor Cerri, who assures us that he has seen the papal brief of the 17th of April, 1501, wherein it is said : " Te in cardinalem approbamus, quod tamen sub silentio tenebis donec tempus idoneum aderit ". Ciera or Ceri died before being proclaimed a cardinal [30].

That Pope Alexander VI exercised careful judgment in his creation of cardinals is evidenced by his refusal of emperor Maximilian's repeated and pressing requests of a cardinalitial hat for Sigismond Gonzaga [31], who, when promoted by pope Julius II, proved to be a very disedifying prelate [32]. He like-

30. Cerri, Borgia, ossia Alessandro VI, t. II, p. 163.

31. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv. Cod. I, I, f[lis] 2, 61.

32. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 125.

wise declined to admit the emperor's recommendation of Henry Henno, bishop of Orta [33].

Among several other unanswered petitions of cardinalitial honors made by princes for their clients, we should not neglect to mention the incredible one, which the Grand Turk, Mohammed II, is said to have offered in behalf of Nicholas Cibo ; " if only, " as Contelorius significantly remarks [34], " his letters to Alexander VI, reported in the Diary of Burchard, should be true ".

ARTICLE II. — REBELLION OF CARDINAL GIULIANO DELLA ROVERE.

The mutual relations between pope Alexander VI and the Sacred College reveal confidence and paternal affection on the part of the Pontiff ; while the cardinals, with but a few exceptions, were ever loyal and helpful to him. Several cardinals even assisted him with loans in his financial difficulties, as did Oliverius Caraffa [35], who also went with him in the castle of Sant' Angelo, when the Pope was seeking refuge from the triumphant Charles VIII. Other cardinals equally helped him with their money at the time that the French king was preparing his invasion of the kingdom of Naples [36], namely, the cardinals John Michiel, George de Costa, Jerome Basso della Rovere, Dominic della Rovere, James Sclafetano, Lawrence Cibo, Antoniottus Pallavicini, John Baptist Orsini, John de Borgia senior, Francis Piccolomini, Ascanio Sforza and John Anthony Sangiorgio.

Their good will was amply reciprocated by the Pontiff. We shall not speak of the offices and benefices lavished upon

33. Ibid., f° 5.
34. Pars Altera Elenchi S. R. E. Cardinalium, p. 83.
35. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 527, Mch. 30, 1495.
36. Ibid., vol. 528, May 11th, 1497.

even those the least friendly to him, but his reign is filled with acts of extraordinary liberality, of generous forgiveness, of fatherly care towards them. Thus, already on the 1st of September, 1492, we see him order a handsome donation to be made to cardinal Gherardo, who died in poverty before the gift was remitted ; and so he assisted other needy members of the Sacred College. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza owned no home in the city, and the new Pope gave him his own palace. Cardinal Francis de Borgia possessed no residence, and the Pope first paid his rent and then built a home for him on the Vatican grounds [37]. Cardinal Raymund Pérault knew so well the charitable disposition of the Pope, that, on the 16th of January 1498, he took the liberty, when announcing his arrival in Rome, to ask for a well furnished residence, so as not to be obliged to go a begging. Nor was he disappointed, for the Pope paid the rent of a house for him [38]. He likewise procured a house for cardinal Sanseverino [39]. We will notice soon his magnanimity, not only in truly restoring, although under pressure, some disloyal cardinals in their forfeited rights, but also in granting them many new favors. The mission of a special envoy to Venice, for the sole purpose of making an effort to liberate from imprisonment Ascanio Sforza, and to speak words of encouragement and of consolation to him : such an act is a convincing evidence of the greatness of heart and of the solicitude of pope Alexander VI for the members of the Sacred College.

Yet, a few of the Italian cardinals, led by political and family interests, showed themselves, on one occasion especially, wanting in allegiance to him. One of these, Giuliano della Rovere, openly antagonized the Pontiff from the begin-

37. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Div. Cam. An. 1497-1498. Lib. III. Armar. 29, no. 52, f° 217.

38. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Decreta Consist. ab an. 1498 ad 1620 : Cod. XXXVI, 7, f° 10 ; Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, vol. 531, Aug. 27, 1499.

39. Ibid., Aug. 31 1499 ; vol. 533, Mch. 2, 1503.

ning of his reign. Grieved at the preference and authority given by the new Pope to cardinal Ascanio Sforza [40], he took the part of Ferdinand, king of Naples, who had, at the last election, proposed him for the papacy, but who had been an adversary of former Pontiffs and was known as no friend of pope Alexander VI. Giuliano abetted the purchase of the cities of Anguillara and Cervetri, in the Pontifical States, made with money of the King, by Virginio Orsini, a declared enemy of the Pope and Captain general of the Neapolitan army. When the Pontiff learned that the transfer had been completed on the 3d of September, without his knowledge, he justly complained of the cardinal, for counseling the violation of the rights of the Church, which he was used to defend heretofore [41]. Pretending to be in danger in Rome, Giuliano left the papal court, in the beginning of the year 1493, for his episcopal city of Ostia and shut himself up in its new fortress, which he prepared as for a siege. King Ferdinand encouraged him in this hostile step and promised him his protection [42].

The Pope was deeply pained and disturbed at the cardinal's way of acting, and he soon sent to him two prominent members of the Sacred College, Oliverio Caraffa and George de Costa ; and, shortly after, Paul Fregoso, to persuade him to return to Rome and to his duties. He even offered him, as security, the pledge of the College of Cardinals, of king Ferdinand of Naples and of the Venetian republic, Guicciardini says [43]. Giuliano, however, declined the friendly request [44], saying that he could not trust the Pope nor his entourage.

40. Sigismondo dei Conti, Le Storie de' Suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 55.
41. Ibid., Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 293.
42. Ibid., s. 294 ; Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, vol. II. P. I, p. 369.
43. Storia d'Italia, vol. I. Lib. I. Cap. II, p. 51.
44. Ciaconius, Vitae Pontiff. Roman., t. II, coll. 1100 ; Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 632.

On the 4th of January the Pontiff gave him a new token of his friendly disposition, by granting him the expectatives of a canonry and prebend and of another dignity in the cathedral of Florence ; which he could either accept for himself or dispose of in favor of any other clergyman, according to his free choice [45]. But all was in vain.

On the 20th of January, pope Alexander VI had an intimate conversation with Valori, the envoy of Florence ; and said to him : " The cardinal of St. Peter's Bands has absented himself from our court, in consequence of some suspicion against Us ; but since We have not the least intention of harming him, his conduct is as strange as it is displeasing ". The Pontiff, Valori writes, highly protested that, neither in words, in actions nor otherwise, had he ever given him the slightest reason for acting as he did. " We have ", he continued, " ever since We have been raised to the Pontificate, honored him and done him all the favors that he has asked from Us, and it is our intention to do so yet, in spite of his behavior; We shall consider his Seigniory as a brother, honor him and try to please him as much as We can, whether he returns or not ". Indeed, we can see on a former page that these were not vain promises. Valori further writes that it was the Pontiff's intention not to compel a change in the cardinal's conduct, but to let him shape it himself, as he would see fit [46]. On the 8th of February, the Pope asked the cardinals assembled in consistory, what he should do to reconcile Giuliano della Rovere. The greater number counseled him to let the cardinal remain in Ostia, where he liked to stay, and His Holiness promised to follow their advice [47].

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45. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Bull. An. I, t. III, Regest. 774, f° 25.

46. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 623.

47. Valori, the Florentine ambassador, ap. Burchard, t. II, p. 630. See also pp. 625, 627, 628.

Marin Sanudo [48], as quoted by Thuasne [49], falsely gives to understand that Giuliano della Rovere's distrust and suspicion of pope Alexander VI was well justified by a tragic event of the time. He says : " The cardinal had written to the Pontiff, that he was willing to return to Rome, since his dwelling was still furnished as a cardinal's palace. Yet he did not enter his residence, but directed to it one of his bishops, who was to follow him to Rome. And, as it was believed that it was the cardinal who had arrived, a number of armed men entered the house and murdered the said bishop, together with many of his servants. As soon as the cardinal, who was in Ostia, heard of the crime, he resolved to leave Ostia, and, accompanied by a good escort and disguised as a monk, he sailed for France "—for fear, of course, that the Pope, foiled by his stratagem, would now endeavor to arrest and to kill him.

Thuasne lends the appearance of truthfulness to Sanudo's dishonesty by removing, in his edition of Burchard's diary, to just a year after the actual event, to the 24th of February, 1493, the diarist's relation of the murder of the bishop of Aquila, with such details of time and manner, as can leave no doubt that the bishop of Aquila and the one reported slain according to Sanuto's account, are one and the same personage. Thuasne, moreover, ascribes the dispatch of the Florentine ambassador, Valori [50], which relates the death of the bishop of Aquila under the same circumstances, to the year 1493, by assigning to it the faulty date of " Rome, XXV febr. 1492/3 ".

The truth, however, is that John Baptist, bishop of Aquila, was assassinated by a band of armed men, in the palace of cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, or in the adjoining house,

48. La Spedizione de Carlo VIII in Italia, p. 41.

49. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 6, n. 2.

50. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 42, n.

not at the time that cardinal Giuliano removed from Ostia to France, but the year before, when pope Innocent VIII was reigning still ; for so it is plainly stated in an incontestable, authentic document, namely, in the bull of pope Alexander VI against the Colonna and the Savelli [51] : Et cum tempore Innocentii predecessoris nonnulli perditionis filii in conspectu totius Curie, bone memorie Johannem Batistam, Epum Aquilan. tunc prope Palatium Venerabilis fratris Juliani Epi Ostien. habitantem... ausu diabolico inhumaniter interfecissent, ipsos episcopicidas... in terris suis... scienter tenere et receptare...(Columnenses) non formidarunt.

But, should the murder have been committed, as it was not, in February, 1493; even then Giuliano della Rovere should have had no reason to suspect the Pontiff, as Sanudo intimates that he did; for, according to the dispatch of Valori, the Pope complained before the lords cardinals, and manifested no little displeasure, finding it strange that even prelates were not secure in Rome, nor a cardinal at his home. His Holiness has this day, Valori adds, posted six men at every gate of the City, to take notice of every one who enters. In the document, just referred to, pope Alexander VI afterwards accused the Colonna, the friends and allies of the rebellious cardinal, of harboring on their territories and protecting the assassins of the bishop of Aquila.

Emboldened by the promises of the king of Naples, cardinal della Rovere continued in his threatening disobedience, and confided to Fabritius Colonna the safekeeping of his abbey of Grottaferrata [52]. When, however, the King learned of the defensive league concluded between the Pope, the duke of Milan and Venice, and of the intended invasion of his kingdom by Charles VIII of France, he altered his policy and even advised the cardinal to go to Rome and become recon-

51. See Document 171.

52. Ibid., p. 624.

ciled. In fact, on the 24th of the month of July, Giuliano went and, together with Virginio Orsini, the king's trusted captain, took dinner with the Pope [53]. On this occasion the cardinal required, as a condition of his stay in Rome, the dismissal from court of cardinal Ascanio Sforza; but, as the Pope did not feel justified to grant his demand [54], he left Rome for the territories of the Colonna barons, after spending a few pleasant and useful days in the City.

When informed in Marino of the cardinalitial promotion of the 20th of September, which he, king Ferdinand and two or three other cardinals had tried to prevent, he uttered loud groans, became ill from spite and fell out anew with the Pope [55].

Ferdinand of Naples died the death of a pagan, on the 25th of January, 1494. His son, king Alfonso, did all in his power to secure the good will of the Pontiff, in opposition to the threatening attitude of Charles VIII, king of France ; and his envoys were received, on the 20th of March, to privately make obeisance in his name. On the 26th, Giuliano della Rovere went to Rome, but soon left the City again for his fortress of Ostia, where he made arrangements with the Colonna [56].

As soon as the Pope had declared in favor of Naples, the French king had initiated secret negotiations to win over the embittered cardinal, who was to be a dreadful weapon in his hands [57].

King Alfonso, who was fully confident of the friendship of Giuliano, entered, on the 28th of March, through his procurators, Virginio Orsini and the cardinals Orsini and Caraffa, into a solemn agreement with pope Alexander VI, one of whose principal articles was to favor cardinal della Rovere

53. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 298.
54. Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, vol. II. P. 2, p. 190, seqq.
55. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 302.
56. Ibid., s. 305-306.
57. Ibid., 305.

and his brother, John, the prefect of Rome. The Pontiff should restore him in all his forfeited rights and privileges, and not do any harm either to him or to his brother, on account of their former actions, provided that Giuliano would behave as is becoming a good cardinal [58]. The Pontiff readily swore to the stipulation, for he sincerely wished to make peace with the cardinal. He exhorted him through his old friends, king Alfonso and Virginio Orsini, to return to the papal court ; but their mediation produced a contrary effect.

Under the pretext that Villamarin, who was in the King's pay and cruising about the mouth of the Tiber, wanted to apprehend him, he fled, on the 23d of April, at night and in disguise, with but three companions, from Ostia in a fast boat to Savona, and thence to Marseilles and Avignon, of which city also he was bishop and apostolic delegate. Learning here that the Pope had forbidden to receive him as a bishop or a delegate, he proceeded, at the invitation of Charles VIII, to the French court [59], then held in the city of Lyons, where he was conducted by the seneschal de Belcaire and by the Neapolitan exile, Antoniotto of Salerno, and was magnificently received on the 1st of June [60].

Before leaving Ostia, Giuliano had provided his fortress with a number of soldiers, cannon and ammunition and a large quantity of foodstuffs, and had placed it for defence in the hands of his brother John, the prefect of Rome, and of Fabritius Colonna [61].

As soon as pope Alexander VI was informed of these hostile proceedings, he resolved to regain Ostia ; and, on the 2d of

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58. See Document 141.

59. Sigismondo dei Conti, Le Storie de' suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 63; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 75.

60. Corio, Storia di Milano, vol. III, p. 548 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 344.

61. Corio, ubi supra, p. 547 ; Gregorovius, ubi supra, s. 344 ; Balan, Storia d'Ital. Vol. V, p. 310.

May, he sent men and cannon against it, under the command of his captain general, Nicholas Orsini, count of Pitigliano. It took but a few days to reduce the fortification to great straits [62], and Fabritius Colonna capitulated on the 21st of May, on the condition that the Prefect and his fugitive brother should be granted full amnesty. On the 24th, the Pontiff wrote to Fabritius Colonna that, in consideration of the surrender, he allowed him to retain Grottaferrata confided to him by Cardinal Giuliano [63].

His munificence had not the desired effect upon the hearts of his defeated rebels, for hardly had Charles VIII sent his troops across the Alps into Italy, on the 23d of August, 1494 [64], when the Colonna, the Savelli and their adherents declared in favor of the French, caused much trouble in the environs of Rome and, finding the fortress of Ostia poorly guarded and defended, treacherously recaptured it [65], on the 18th of September, in the name of the French king ; leaving it in the power of Fabritius Colonna, who soon prevented all vessels from navigating the Tiber and victualling the City [66], while his accomplices tried to cut off all supply by land.

The Pontiff threatened his rebels, Fabritius and Prospero Colonna ; Antonello, Trajano and Troillo Savelli, Jerome Toutavilla and their adherents, with excommunication, the loss of all their rights and titles, and the confiscation of all their estates ; unless they should surrender within six days. But the threat was only from a powerless Sovereign, and it remained altogether unheeded [67].

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62. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 178.

63. Card. Giul. Caesarin, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod XXX 48, f° 24 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 345 and n. 2.

64. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Lettres de Commines, t. II, p. 104.

65. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 186.

66. Rome, Bibl. Vatic. Ottoboniana, Cod. 1225, f° 1 ; Malipiero, Anna,. Venet. ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I. T. VII. P. I, p. 318 ; Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. LV, 27,f° 1.

67. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p 189-191.

At the time that cardinal Giuliano della Rovere arrived in France, the Italian invasion was a much debated question, and it seemed as if it would finally be abandoned. Ludovico Sforza, regent of the duchy of Milan, was doing all in his power, by letters and envoys, to influence the weakminded French king and to urge him to cross the mountains with his troops [68], when cardinal Giuliano threw in the balance the weight of his passionate abuses against the Pope and the king of Naples, and of his brilliant promises of assistance from the powerful Roman barons, the Colonna and the Savelli. He succeeded, together with Ludovico Sforza, in bringing war and all its evils upon the Neapolitan kingdom and eventually upon the whole of Italy [69]. J. Favé [70] says that, on this occasion, Giuliano was the fatal artisan of the misfortunes of Italy ; the Civiltà Cattolica [71] asserts that his hatred of the Borgias drove him to passionately conspire to the detriment, not only of the Pope, but also of the whole of Italy ; and Gregorovius [72], that his inducements of the French to wage war against Rome and Naples must have been considered by every true Italian as acts of treason against his native land.

Cardinal Bembo relates [73] that Charles VIII had given the command of his infantry that were to man his fleet of Genoa, destined to occupy the Italian coast and to strengthen Ostia, to Louis, duke of Orleans, and to cardinal Giuliano della Rovere ; but the cardinal declined the appointment, and preferred to remain with the King, for fear that, in his absence, he might yet change his mind and return to France [74].

While, at the French court, cardinal Giuliano was attempt-

68. Ranke, Geschichten, s. 3.
69. Corio, Storia di Milano, p. 496 ; Ammirato, Istorie Fiorentine, t. V, p. 343.
70. Études Critiques sur l'Histoire d'Alex. VI, p. 53.
71. Ser. 9. Vol. VIII, p. 290.
72. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 344.
73. Rerum Venet. Hist. Lib. II, p. 44.
74. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Lettres de Commines, t. II, p. 140.

ing to do another unholy work. He often spoke of the necessity of convoking a Council, Pastor says [75], and adds: in order to assail Alexander VI [76]. This was, indeed, encouraging the schismatic inclinations of the French monarch, whom the faculty of theology at Paris had authorized shortly before to gather, by his own authority, a Council, or, as we should more correctly call it, a conciliabulum [77], and whose envoys in Rome had actually appealed to such a council, on the 18th of April, from the Pontiff's resolution to crown Alfonso, king of Naples [78]. It is no wonder if the Pope was deeply afflicted by these machinations of Giuliano della Rovere, as cardinal Ascanio Sforza wrote to his brother, on the 18th of June [79]; for, had they been effective, a conciliabulum convoked by king Charles VIII would probably have produced an open schism of the Gallican Church.

In thus recklessly extending a political conflict to the domain of spiritual authority, Giuliano's intention cannot have been but to justify his rebellion, and to render amenable to his will the future actions of the Pontiff and of the Sacred College; if, indeed, his ambition did not ascend higher still; namely, to remove the Vicar of Christ and himself to ascend the papal throne.

Both ancient and modern historians, hostile to pope Alexander VI, have filled many pages with injurious gossip about his intended deposition. Their material is mainly derived from the news of salaried scandalmongers, the ambassadors,

75. This we may readily believe, for, as pope Julius II, he says himself in his bull of convocation of the Fifth Council of Lateran, July 18th, 1511: "What has made us more odious to our predecessor, Alexander VI of happy memory, than our zeal and efforts to convoke a General Council?"—Bullar. Roman. Julii II. Constitutio XXVII, § 3.

76. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 307; Cantu, Hist. Univers. Liv. XV. Ch. 3, p. 115.

77. Bérault-Bercastel, Hist. de l'Eglise, t. X, p. 562; Becchetti, Ultimi, quattro Sesoli, t. VI, p. 279.

78. Ibid., s. 305.

79. Ibid., s. 307, n. 5.

of the time. Manfredi, the Ferrarese envoy in Florence, wrote to the duke Ercole, on the 16th, the 25th of February and on the 11th of March, 1495, that Charles VIII was about to summon the Pope before a Council in Ferrara, and to reform the Church [80]. Malipiero had learned from Venetian ambassadors that Charles VIII intended to depose the Pope, after he should have subdued Naples, and alleges as reason his pretended simoniacal election [81]! A contemporary French diplomat denies, however, that Charles VIII, when in Naples, intended to remove the Pontiff and to create another, who would allow him the mastery of Italy and crown him emperor, as it was rumored all over Germany [82]. Emperor Maximilian was, in fact, alarmed at the information received from his envoys in Italy, and, on the 23d of May, he notified the German princes that Charles VIII intended to depose the Pope, to submit the whole of Italy and to claim the imperial crown and dignity [83]. As late as the year 1502, the Venetian ambassador, Giustinian, attributes the same design to Charles VIII's successor, Louis XII [84].

All those diplomatic prophecies are awaiting yet their accomplishment ; but it seems to be true that, already before they were made, plans had been laid to remove the Pontiff most effectually, by taking his life,—if, at least, we may believe Trotti, the Ferrarese envoy in Milan, who wrote on the 24th of December, 1494 : " The duke Ludovico told me that he was looking to see Messer Bartholomew da Chalco arrive at any moment with a courier, to announce to him that the Pope had been apprehended and beheaded ! " [85].

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80. Cappelli, Atti e Memorie, IV, 341-343.

81. Annal. Venet. ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I. T. VII, P. I, p 318.

82. Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds fr. Cod. 20631, f° 3.

83. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv, Cod. K. K : Concepten, Originalien, Varia, f° 189; Ibid., Cod. G. G. f° 258vo.

84. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 58.

85. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 90.

Nor can it be denied that,during the first days of the sojourn of Charles VIII in Rome, three rebellious cardinals : Giuliano della Rovere, Colonna and Savelli urged the French king to bombard the castle of Sant' Angelo, where the Pope, with a few cardinals, had taken refuge, and to depose him [86]. Becchetti imputes the wicked counsel also to cardinal Ascanio Sforza ; but, for reasons set forth hereafter, we seriously doubt whether Ascanio was still, at this time, an adversary of pope Alexander VI.

That cardinal Giuliano della Rovere was endeavoring not only to dispossess the Pontiff, but also to secure his throne for himself, is intimated by the fact that, after visiting him, cardinal Cæsarini was called upon to confound his accusers, who had told the Pope that he had promised his vote to Giuliano [87].

The newly created cardinal Briçonnet wrote to the queen of France : " If our King had been willing to listen to the greater number of the Lords cardinals [88], they would have made another Pope, with the intention of reforming the Church, so they said. The King desires the reform, it is true, but he is not willing to undertake the deposition " [89].

Briçonnet, in whom Charles VIII placed the greatest confidence, was probably the man who prevented the scandals of a conciliabulum and consequent schism, and directed the King to enter into an agreement with the Pope ; and moreover, to solemnly recognize him as the true Vicar of Christ. The obeisance, made by Charles VIII in person and in full consistory, put an end to the machinations of the disloyal

86. Becchetti, Ultimi quattro Secoli, vol. VI, p. 245.

87. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII 48 : " Ex mss. manu propria Juliani Secundi Diac. cardlis Caesarini, f° seq. 24.

88. That is, to three of them. The Sacred College generally was most devoted to pope Alexander VI. See Çurita. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. I. Cap. 41, f° 51vo.

89. Pilorgerie, Campagne and Bulletins de la Grande Armée, p. 135.

prelates and covered them with confusion. To his intense chagrin, Giuliano della Rovere saw his wicked efforts and aspirations vanish like smoke in the air.

ARTICLE III. — REBELLION OF CARDINALS SFORZA, COLONNA, SAVELLI AND PÉRAULT.

We have heard certain ecclesiastics, otherwise decent enough, excuse or even approve of the late perfidious robbery of little Belgium by its powerful neighbor, and the atrocities committed by their barbarian hordes upon the clergy and people of that country. Their unchristian patriotism, casting aside all laws of justice and common humanity, which they had been preaching before, prepared us to be less astonished at the unprincipled conduct of another cardinal, Ascanio Maria Sforza, at the time of the French invasion into Italy under Charles VIII. Ascanio's brother, Ludovico Sforza, was urging and begging the French monarch to appropriate the Neapolitan realm and destroy the power of its King ; in order to save himself from apprehended punishment, for his unjust and cruel conduct and criminal intentions in regard to his nephew Giangaleazzo Sforza, the legitimate duke of Milan ; for Giangaleazzo's wife, the niece of Ferdinand of Naples, was complaining of Ludovico to her father, Alfonso, the duke of Calabria.

Pope Alexander VI had bestowed on cardinal Ascanio Sforza such favors and confidence, that they had aroused the jealousy and anger of cardinal Giuliano della Rovere ; but as soon as the Pope, directed by justice, took the part of the king of Naples, as against Charles VIII and Ludovico the Moro, cardinal Ascanio, blindly devoted to the interests of his brother, became an opponent to the Pontiff's foreign policy. Already in the fall of the year 1493, he, with the

French cardinal of St. Denis, refused to subscribe the bull of confirmation of king Ferdinand's rights to the Neapolitan crown [90].

When, on the 28th of March, 1494, the Pope had concluded with Alfonso of Naples his treaty of friendship and mutual defence, cardinal Ascanio could hardly endure any longer to be present at the papal court, and Ludovico, his brother, advised him to get away from Rome by all means [91]. Ascanio, resolved to depart, asked permission to go to his brother, for the feigned purpose of averting him from his design to favor the French, but the Pope flatly refused [92].

He then continued to spend his time in plotting against the Pontiff. In the month of April he brought about the open defection of the Colonna, Savelli and Estouteville barons, who were already incited against their suzerain by cardinal della Rovere, and who, during the next month of May, accepted the offer of a monthly twenty thousand ducats, for their military services, made to them by the French envoys to the papal court [93]. It may be remarked here that Ludovico the More had succeeded about this time in reconciling the bitter enemies, his brother Ascanio and Giuliano della Rovere, by exploiting their common opposition to the Pope [94].

Two more cardinals, John Mary Colonna and John Baptist Savelli, were violent antagonists of pope Alexander's foreign politics. Profitting by the permission usually granted to the members of the papal court, to commence their yearly vacation on the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, these cardinals left Rome and retired to the territories of their rebellious relatives ; and, heedless of the Pope's calls and threats,

90. Card. Caesarini, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIIII 48, f° 24.

91. Trotti, the ambassador of Ferrara in Milan, to Ercole d'Este, Mch. 30th, 1494.

92. Trotti, Dispatch of the 7th of April.

93. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 308.

94. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 310.

helped these to commit the most perfidious and criminal deeds against the Sovereign Pontiff and his loyal subjects [95].

Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, without asking leave of the Pope [96], followed them to the possessions of the Colonna. Burchard reports [97] that he left the apostolic palace and the City, in the evening of the 29th of June, ordered all his effects to be taken out of the palace and went on horseback to the castle of Frascati, not far from Marino, where he tarried a while; for what reason, we do not know, he adds. Gregorovius says [98] that he went to Genazzano in the beginning of the month of July, and Pastor [99], that he wrote from Frascati on the 6th of July, and from Genazzano on the 15th of July and the 13th, 22d and 25th of August.

About this last date, pope Alexander VI issued an order to all absent cardinals and other members of his court, commanding them to return to Rome within a certain space of time, under pain of losing their benefices [100], and of other penalties ; not unlikely including deprivation of their offices or even their cardinalitial dignity. Cardinal Ascanio, however, applied for an exception in his favor, and the Pontiff graciously allowed his request, answering that the order was not to affect him and that he could remain away from court as long as it might please him, without incurring any of the threatened punishments [101]. It was of his own will if he went to Rome, where he dated a letter on the 22d of September, 1494 [102].

When, in the beginning of October, the Colonna and the Savelli assailed the people in the neighborhood of Rome and of Ostia, the Pope excommunicated them all, declared their

95. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Secret. An. I, II, III. Lib. III, Regest. 869, f° 235.
96. Ibid., f° 246.
97. Diar., t. II, p. 180.
98. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 73.
99. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 308, n. 3.
100. Pastor, ibid., p. 311.
101. See Document 142. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 200 ;
102. Pastor, ibid., s. 308, n. 3

territories forfeited and their accomplices, the cardinals Colonna, Savelli and Sforza, deprived of their benefices and dignities, unless they should, within six days, appear in Rome and submit. Instead of obeying, they did worse than before [103].

Towards the end of October, Ascanio Sforza had requested the cardinal Sanseverino and de Lunate to tell the Pope that, if he could with security go to Rome, he would be pleased to act as a good servant of His Holiness and speak with him of matters most important. On the 31st of October, 1494, the Pontiff sent Cesar de Borgia to Marino, where he remained as a hostage among Ascanio's friends, as long as the cardinal stayed in Rome [104]. Ascanio arrived at the palace in the evening of the 2d of November, and had with the Pope a first interview, that lasted three—ambassador Guidotti de Colle says five—hours, and remained to lodge in the palace. The following morning, the Pope led him to a gathering of all the cardinals, before whom he made known Ascanio's arguments to induce him to neutrality between the kings of France and of Naples ; but, he protested, he would rather give up his tiara and his life than abandon king Alfonso, whom he was, as a suzerain, obliged to protect. Cardinal Ascanio remarked that, as the Holy Father had admitted, he had come to do his duty, as a good cardinal. He took breakfast at the palace and then went together with cardinals Caraffa and Orsini to St. Paul's church, where he took a boat for Ostia, well pleased with his visit in the City. At night, Cesar de Borgia returned from Marino [105].

Cardinal Sforza left special friends in Rome. The cardinals Sanseverino and de Lunate, both of the duchy of Milan,

103. Bibl. Vaticana, Ottobon. Cod. 1225, f° 1 ; Ciaconius, Vitae Roman. Pontiff, t. III, col. 80.

104. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 194 and 195, n. 1.

105. Burchard, Diar., t. II, pp. 194, 195 ; Ambassador Guidotti de Colle, ibid., footn. and p. 646; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 319.

were prelates in good standing with pope Alexander VI, yet they pleaded the cause of Ascanio, and acted as his agents at the papal court. Sanseverino even took the liberty of advising the Pope to become reconciled with him [106]. Meanwhile, Ascanio was traveling about in behalf of Charles VIII, although he was engaged as an envoy of the Pontiff, at the time that the French were in the republic of Florence [107]. On the 12th of November, 1494, he wrote to the King from Marino, that nothing had pleased him better than to see and venerate His Majesty [108]. He quietly entered and left the City and, on the 2d of December, he publicly visited Rome and the apostolic palace, accompanied by about twenty prelates and a numerous escort [109].

Feeling secure, in the expectation of an early agreement of the Pope with Charles VIII [110], and of the impending arrival of the victorious King, Ascanio was often seen in company with cardinals de Lunate and Sanseverino, and with Prospero Colonna and Jerome d'Estouteville. Suddenly, on the 9th of December, all of them were arrested, as also the bishop of Cesena, while Prospero Colonna made so bold as to come to the palace about midnight, to go with Ascanio to Viterbo and meet Charles VIII [111].

It has often been asserted that this arrest was a treachery on the part of pope Alexander VI, that he had given hostages for cardinal Ascanio's security, or, at least, a safe-conduct or some other pledge for his freedom [112]. Gregorovius assures us that cardinal Sforza had been invited to come, under a

106. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 321.

107. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 195.

108. Pastor, ibid., note 1.

109. Ibid., s. 321 ; Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 199.

110. Mazzoni, Mem. ms. fo 45vo. ap. Balan, Stor. d'Italia, t. V, p. 330.

111. Card. Caesarini, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII 48, f° 24 ; Ibid., Cod. LV, 27, f° 2 . Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 200 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 321.

112. Bibl. Vatic. Ottoboniana, Cod. 1225, f° 2 ; Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. LV, 27, f° 2.

safe-conduct, to a conference with the Pontiff [113] ; but Burchard, who notices twice the hostage given on the 31st of October, speaks of no pledge whatever on this occasion, whilst a man who should have been informed well, Ludovico the Moro, the cardinal's brother, stated, soon after, that Ascanio had allowed himself to be caught in a trap, without asking hostages or any other surety from the Pope [114].

This arrest of the friends and allies of Charles VIII, made by the Pontiff at a time that he was trying to negotiate with the King, appears like a puzzle, if not like an act of madness on the part of pope Alexander VI. Gregorovius and Pastor [115] find no difficulty to explain it, by saying that the Pope was now reassured and comforted in his opposition to the French and their adherents, by the vicinity of the Neapolitan and pontifical captains, Frederic of Naples, Giulio Orsini and the count of Pitigliano, who, indeed, entered the City on the following day. But, did he not know that their troops had been steadily driven before the advancing and victorious French ; or could he expect a small fleeing army to defeat before Rome the proud forces of Charles VIII, twenty times more numerous ? Should he not, instead of thus insulting the French king, have sought peaceful means of coming to a desired accommodation with him ; or, instead of making prisoners, have provided for his own personal safety ? Evidently, some peculiar cause must have impelled him to the strange action.

It was rumored that the Pope wanted the prisoners as securities, in case of any harm that might be done to his person by their acknowledged French master ; but the fact is that they were detained because they had, or the Pope

113. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII.

114. Trotti, Disp. of the 16th of Dec. to the duke of Ferrara ; Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 330.

115. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 321.

believed they had, plotted to murder him by poison or poniard [116].

It took but a few hours for Charles VIII to be informed of the arrest and to dispatch a courier to Rome with orders that Ascanio be set free at once. The news soon reached also the duke of Milan, Ludovico, who complained immediately in Venice of the Pontiff's bad faith. Even Maximilian, the German emperor, was apprised of cardinal Sforza's detention, and wrote to the Pope from Antwerp, on the 20th of January of the following year, demanding the release of his beloved relative [117].

As soon as he received the threatening letter of the French king, pope Alexander VI dispatched to Viterbo his envoys, Leonello Chierigati, bishop of Concordia ; John de Fonsalida, bishop of Terni, and the Franciscan, Gratian de Villanova, his confessor, in order to excuse himself [118], or rather, to expose to His Majesty the reasons of his rigorous action. Thereupon, the King selected one of his captains, Galeazzo Sanseverino, very intimate with Ludovico, the duke of Milan, and sent him back to communicate to the duke, by word of mouth, the cause of his brother's arrest. So delicate was the errand that it was considered unfit to be consigned to writing.

Sanseverino left during the night of the 15th, together with his secretary, Angelo di Firenze, and met the duke in private intervieuw on one of the next following days. Their conversation remained a secret, although the secretary admitted that its subject was the imprisonment of cardinal Ascanio [119]. The effect of the message was that Ludovico frequently burst out in deep laments on the misconduct and blunders of

116. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 330.

117. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv, Cod. LI, f° 80.

118. Sigismondo dei Conti, Le Storie de' suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 84; Christophe, Hist. de la Papauté, t II, p. 427 ; Histor. Jahrbücher, VI, s. 456.

119. Trotti, Dispatch of the 15th and 16th of Dec. 1494, to the duke of Ferrara, ap. Balan, Stor. d'Ital., t. V, p. 330.

Ascanio ; or, at best, pretended not to care about his detention, as Trotti wrote to Ercole of Ferrara, on the 17th and the 19th of December, 1494. The duke Ercole was thus correctly informed by his Milanese ambassador of the misdeed of cardinal Ascanio, but he declared that he did not believe it, nor was he willing to speak of it to any one [120].

It looked, moreover, very suspicious, that Ascanio, though the French, his friends, were the masters in Rome, did not feel secure in the City, but suddenly fled [121], as soon as it became apparent that king Charles had no intention of doing any injury to the Pope ; namely, on January the 16th, 1495, the eve of the day that Charles VIII was to meet him on friendly terms in the Vatican. It was also noticed with astonishment, that the King never took the cardinal under his protection nor spoke a word in his favor to the Pope, although he did so for the other disloyal cardinals. Those facts appeared so strange that the ambassador Trotti ventured one day to point them out to Ludovico the Moro, although he diplomatically protested his disbelief in the possibility of his brother's attempt to take the Pontiff's life with either weapons or poison ; and so he wrote to the duke of Ferrara, on the 26th of January, 1495.

Finally, the most prejudicial evidence against cardinal Sforza is a strictly confidential letter of his own brother, the duke of Milan to Ercole, in which Ludovico writes, on the 10th of February, 1495 : We are not without suspicion that our brother, either from passion or from ambition, has sought nothing less than the death of the Pope, to become Pope himself : " Non siamo senza suspitione che nostro fratello, o per troppa passione o per troppo appetito, non miri ad altro che alla extinctione del Papa, per porsi Papa medesimo " [122].

120. Balan, ibid., p. 331.
121. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 330.
122. Original in the Archives of State of Modena ; Balan, Stor. d'Ital., t. V, p. 331.

In the morning after the arrest of Ascanio Sforza and his companions, the bishop of Cesena was found innocent and immediately set free. Then a consistory was held, in which all the cardinals, without a single exception, made a vow and took an oath not to abandon the Pontiff in this necessity, but to stay with him wherever he might choose to be [123]. The three detained cardinals were then introduced and their guilt examined. It was decided that cardinal de Lunate should also be given his liberty and go to Ostia [124], to attend to some business, namely, to obtain the surrender of its fortress by Fabritius Colonna. His mission proved a failure [125].

Prosper Colonna and Jerome d'Estouteville were imprisoned in the castle of Sant' Angelo, and the cardinals Sanseverino and Sforza were locked up in the upper story of the apostolic palace, above the apartments of the Pope [126].

On the 14th of December, according to Contelorius [127]; on the 19th, if we prefer Burchard [128], cardinal Sanseverino was liberated and dispatched on his second mission to the French king, who had now arrived in Nepi, to offer him the free passage through the territories of the Church, provided, however, he should not enter the city of Rome. We could hardly expect any serious effort from this cardinal; and, as he had failed in Siena, so also, on this occasion, he returned to Rome without success.

Prospero Colonna, together with d'Estouteville, secured his liberty by a deceptive agreement, about this same time, as we shall notice later on.

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123. Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. I. Cap. 41, f° 51vo.

124. Instead of Ostia we read Marino, in the Bibl. Barberin., Cod. LV, 27, f° 2.

125. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 200; Çurita, ubi supra, Cap. 40, f° 50.

126. Burchard, ubi supra.

127. Pars Altera Elenchi S.R.E. Cardinalium, p. 81.

128. Ubi supra, p. 211.

Cardinal Ascanio Sforza remained a prisoner, closely confined in the apostolic palace.

Meanwhile, the French army had reached the outskirts of Rome, and the people of the City, stricken with fear, were threatening to open its gates. Pope Alexander VI saw at last the utter futility of longer opposition. On Christmas morning he announced to the Sacred College that he had resigned himself to admit Charles VIII within the City walls and decided to let cardinal Ascanio go. The cardinal was given his liberty, and rode to the camp of the French king [129].

Still one more cardinal, Raymond Pérault, became disloyal to pope Alexander VI on the occasion of Charles VIII's invasion. He was led astray by the injudicious impulsion of one of his good qualities. That he was a prelate esteemed by the Pope is evidenced by the fact that many offices and benefices were bestowed upon him. He thus received shortly before his defection, on the 26th of July, 1494, the chantry of the cathedral of Saintes [130]; on the 4th of October, the priory of St. Martin de Pereyo and the commendam of Newcastle of the Order of St. Benedict, in the diocese of Saintes [131], and several minor benefices, on the 10th of November of the same year [132]. As he was a Frenchman by birth, the Pope had considered him well fitted to be his spokesman with Charles VIII, already in the beginning of October, 1494 [133]. When the King had refused, in Lucca, to receive as papal envoy the cardinal Piccolomini, Raymund Pérault was dispatched to meet His Majesty in Florence [134].

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129. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 322, 323; Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. I, Cap. 40, f° 53vo.

130. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bull. An. I, II, III, t. XIV, Regest. 785, f° 70.

131. Ibid., Bull. An. III, t. XX, Regest. 791, f° 150.

132. Ibid., Bull. An. III, IV, t. XXVI, Regest. 797, f° 209.

133. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Lettres de Philip de Commines, t. II, p. 124.

134. Id., ibid. p. 146.

This mission proved to be the cardinal's misfortune and one of the saddest disappointments of pope Alexander VI. Raymund always was an ardent defender of the Church against the cruel Turks, and spent the greater part of his cardinalate in working with the Pope against them ; but his zeal predisposed him to be mislead by two events that took place at that time. Charles VIII deceived him, like many others, by the pompous Manifesto, whereby he declared that the main object of his incursion was a crusade against the Turks ; and that the conquest of his kingdom of Naples, was only a step towards his great undertaking. Such a declaration could not fail to deeply affect cardinal Pérault. The second cause of his subsequent disloyalty was the apocryphal correspondence between pope Alexander VI and Bajazet, the emperor of the Turks, pretendedly translated, printed and scattered by the highway robber, John della Rovere, cardinal Giuliano's brother, who, to palliate his theft of forty thousand ducats, sent to the Pope by the Grand Turk for the keeping of his brother Zizim, wanted to prove therewith that the Pope was plotting against the Christians with their worst enemies ! Pérault seems to have believed the incredible slander, as some of the Pope's enemies pretend to believe it yet. We shall speak more fully of this subject in due time.

The cardinal was completely won over to the cause of Charles VIII, followed his camp and did not return to his Superior, who had sent him. He assisted the French in their progress and wrote to the German residents of Rome, praising the Most Christian King, blaming his enemies for his misunderstanding with the Pope, and telling them of the pains he had taken to save them from all injury and annoyance in case of warlike violence. Burchard is, however, unjustly severe on cardinal Pérault, when, admitting improbable hearsay, he accuses him of being the leader of barbarous

raids on persons and properties in the suburbs of Rome, from the 21st to the 23d of December [135]. Cardinal Pérault entered the City as a follower of the French king, on the last day of the year 1494.

ARTICLE IV. — CHARLES VIII IN ROME.

This memorable 31st of December was a day of sorrow and anxiety for the Pontiff, and a day of triumph for his rebellious cardinals. Giuliano della Rovere had absented himself on Christmas from the camp of Charles VIII, to go to Ostia and introduce a hundred and fifty French infantrymen into its fortress [136]; but when Burchard went, by orders of the Pope, to meet the king of France, a few miles from the City, cardinal della Rovere, together with cardinal Savelli, were at the head of the approaching royal train. A little further he met the King, who wished to enter Rome without any pomp or solemnity. When His Majesty was nearing the suburb, he was joined by cardinal Ascanio Sforza, who took position at his left, and crossed Ponte Molle with him to the City and to the palace of San Marco, destined to be the royal headquarters. Cardinal Colonna must also have been present on this occasion, for " Colonna " was loudly acclaimed together with " Francia " and " Vincula. "

As soon as arrived at San Marco, Charles VIII retired to his apartments and dismissed the cardinals that had followed him [137].

As Burchard had announced to him the previous day, the King was visited on the 1st of the new year by all the cardinals, with the exception of Caraffa and Orsini, who remain-

135. Burchard, Diar., t. II, pp. 211, seqq.

136. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. LV, 27, f° 3 or 4.

137. Burchard, Diar., t. II, pp. 216, or 217.

ed with the Pope at the apostolic palace ; but he did not pay them the customary attentions due to their rank [138]. " Nor did he give any sign of good will towards the Pontiff ; for he was embittered against him on account of the coronation of Alfonso of Naples, and had heard charges against his moral conduct, which, although slight and trivial, and made by his detractors, " says the contemporary Sigismondo dei Conti, " influenced his mind ; because, " he adds, " the French, and all who live in distant countries, imagine that a Sovereign Pontiff is not of the same material as other mortals, but is like one that has been sent down from Heaven " [139].

It is not difficult to know who those detractors were, for he states, a few lines further, that the cardinals Giuliano della Rovere, Raymund Pérault, Ascanio Sforza, John Baptist Savelli and John Colonna were assiduous with the King [140].

After a few days, the Pope sent four cardinals to Charles VIII, " in order to learn what were his wishes and to mitigate his mood, estranged by false suspicion. The King, moved by their wise and truthful discourse " [141], opened negotiations, and, although excessive in his demands at first, concluded, on the 15th of January, the preliminaries of a treaty to be signed a few days later. Arrangements were also made for a visit at the Vatican, at which His Majesty would personally do homage to the Holy Father as to the true Vicar of Christ.

Pastor asserts [142] that the five rebellious cardinals had been most insistent in advising Charles VIII to convoke a council for the reform of the Church in its Head and in its members ; which, in reality, meant nothing else than the humiliation and removal of pope Alexander VI. The French historian,

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138. Ibid., pp. 217, 218.
139. Le Storie de' suoi Tempi. t. II, p. 86.
140. Ibid.
141. Ibid., pp. 88-91.
142. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 327.

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de Commines, relying on false reports, mentions this project, and writes of the alleged simoniacal election of the Pope, and of his intended replacement by Giuliano della Rovere or Ascanio Sforza, or even by some Frenchman ; but he judiciously finishes with saying : " The King was too young and in too bad company, to carry out so great a work as is a Church reform [143]. " Ludovico the Moro suggested that the French king might commence the reform by reforming himself [144], as, indeed, his immorality was great and public.

But, instead of trying to depose the Pope, Charles VIII made arrangements to visit him on the 16th of January, 1495, and to accept quarters at the Vatican palace. On the 18th, the articles of agreement between them were solemnly ratified and, on the following day, the King personally did homage to the Pontiff, as to the Vicar of Christ and the successor of the Apostle St. Peter [145].

No attempt had been made to hamper the ecclesiastical authority of pope Alexander VI, nor to increase the power of Giuliano della Rovere, or of any other disloyal cardinal. Charles VIII obtained, however, the promotion to the purple of two prelates of his own choice and, defeating justice, he secured the impunity and the full rehabilitation of the cardinals, that had become false to their lawful Lord to follow and promote his cause, together with the right for these of staying at the papal court and of absenting themselves from Rome, according to their free will.

The reinstatement had been agreed upon between the Pontiff and the French prince, Philippe de Bresse, already on the 11th of January, when cardinals Giuliano della Rovere, Pérault, Savelli and Colonna—cardinal Sforza is not men-

143. Mémoires de Ph. de Commines, Liv. VII. Ch. XII, p. 57.

144. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 328.

145. Burchard, Diar. t. II, pp. 221, 225, 226; Pastor, ubi supra, s. 330, 331.

tioned here—were invited to appear before the cardinal of Alexandria, Sangiorgio, and the other papal and the royal commissaries, to assist at the preparation of the official papers to that effect ; but della Rovere was so disappointed in his expectations and so exasperated at the friendly turn of affairs, that he refused to meet the commissaries, or to make peace with the Pope. He even bitterly complained of the French king, who had come to an understanding, he protested, without his knowledge and in spite of promises made under oath [146]. As the reconciliation of Charles VIII with the Pontiff excited the ire of Giuliano, so did it arouse the fear of Ascanio Sforza. This cardinal had been neglected when his accomplices had been promised their pardon ; and now, the Pope, who had, or thought he had, reasons of considering him as his would-be assassin, was going to speak with the King. He did not feel safe in Rome any longer and left the City early in the morning of the 16th, for Milan, it was said ; and took along with him the cardinal de Lunate [147].

Pope Alexander VI had bound himself by his treaty to forgive, rehabilitate and exempt from presence at his court the cardinals that had opposed him ; but his generosity did not effect their conversion, for they all, except cardinal Sforza, left him and followed Charles VIII on his march to Naples. On the 28th of January, the French king departed from Rome for Marino, and the cardinals Giuliano della Rovere, Savelli and Colonna left with him. In the evening of the same day cardinal Pérault also left [148].

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146. Burchard, Diar., t. II, pp. 220, 221 ; Pastor, ubi supra, s. 330.

147. Burchard, ibid., p. 221 ; Cfr. Pastor, ubi supra, s. 330.

148. Burchard, ibid., p. 236.

ARTICLE V. — CARDINALS PÉRAULT AND SFORZA RECONCILED.

Raymund Pérault had grievously failed in his duties by not reporting on his mission to Charles VIII and siding with the Pontiff's adversary, but no special censures had been issued against him. A simple pardon of his mistakes was all he needed to be canonically in good standing again. By an article of the treaty imposed on the Pope by Charles VIII on the 15th of January, the cardinal of Gurck, Pérault, was to receive his fees as a cardinal whether present at the papal court or absent from Rome, and he was to be confirmed in his expectations of the diocese of Metz [149], and of Besançon. Burchard reports [150] that, on the 22d of January, 1495, he settled his case with the Pontiff, " who was inclined to kindness and not seeking revenge ", and he was reconciled with him. " I led him up to receive the papal blessing, " he says, " and he acknowledged his fault. " And then Burchard adds a particular of which he was not a witness and which is incredible, indeed ; that, namely, Pérault, confessing his wrongdoings, receiving pardon of them and becoming, apparently ad least, a friend again of the Sovereign Pontiff, burst out, right there, in the presence of two dutiful cardinals, into a volley of such coarse insults and incriminations as no decent man would hurl at his own valet. No wonder, if Burchard closes this story with the words : " If his men have told me the truth ! " [151]. Thuasne [152] asserts that the cardinal repeated the same accusations, fifteen months after ; but, at this latter time, he only said that he had seen the compromising correspondence between the Pope and the Grand Turk [153].

149. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bull. An, VI, VII, t. L, Regest. 821, fo 104bis vo.

150. Ibid., p. 233.

151. Cfr. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 330.

152. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 233, footn.

153. Ibid., p. 210 n. 1, and p. 668 : Thuasne's own references.

It seems, indeed, that cardinal Pérault continued to believe those letters to be authentic, and, as a consequence, that his reconciliation with the Pontiff was more formal than sincere, until, about the year 1498, he became aware of his error and quite intimate with pope Alexander VI [154].

It did not take him so long to be disillusioned in regard to the French king's Florentine Manifesto.

When he saw Charles VIII, after taking Naples, abandon himself to his pleasures, instead of preparing for his boasted crusade, he left him and, on the 8th of April, returned to the papal court [155]. Here, on the 2d of April, 1495, he received a letter dated from Worms, by which emperor Maximilian, relying on Pérault's devotion to the welfare of the Church, invited him to Milan, to confer with him, against the king of France, as we may presume from the political conditions of the time [156].

Oblivious of past offences, and to gain his hearty co-operation, the Pope gave him, as occasion offered, many tokens of kindness :

On the 6th of October, 1495, he named him Governor general, in temporal and spiritual concerns, of Foligno, Assisi, Nuceria, Montone, Gualdi and other places [157].

On the 27th of April, 1496, he granted him more benefices [158].

On the 27th of the following month, cardinal Pérault received a pension [159].

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154. Cfr. Histor. Jahrbüch. Bd. VI, s. 457.

155. Ibid., Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds fr. Cod. 20631, f° 2.

156. Vienna, Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv. Cod. I. I : Concepten, Missiven et Cetera id genus, f° 247vo.

157. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. De Curia. An. I ad X, t. I, Regest. 874, f° 14.

158. Ibid. Alex. VI. Bull. An. III, IV, t. XXV. Regest. 796, f° 165.

159. Ibid., Alex. VI. Bull. An. III, IV. T. XXVI. Regest. 797, f° 42.

On this same date he was granted the archdeanery of the cathedral of Saintes [160].

And, on the 15th of July, 1496, he obtained the right of " regressus " to the canonry of Aunis [161].

When cardinal Pérault, observing the constant efforts of pope Alexander VI against the Turks, finally saw the error of his prejudice, he came to a cordial understanding with him, as we may infer from his letter of the 16th of January, 1498, by which he expresses his confidence, that the Pontiff will, at his return to Rome, generously provide him with a residence and needed furniture [162]. The Pope cemented their reconciliation with the bestowal of new favors :

On the 4th of March, 1498, the cardinal was appointed, with powers of a Governor, as Legate " a latere " for Montone, Trani, Montefalcone, etc. [163].

On the 18th of the same month, the Pope granted him a pension of about five hundred francs of French money from the diocese of Maguelone [164].

On the 20th of July, the 5th of October and the 1st of November, cardinal Pérault received more benefices [165].

On the 1st of September, 1500, the Pope reserved for him a canonry, and prebend in the cathedral of Geneva [166].

By selecting him, on the 5th of October, 1500, as a Legate " a latere " for Germany and surrounding countries [167], pope Alexander VI conferred upon him a most honorable office, and secured, till the end of his pontificate, the cardinal's

160. Ibid., Alex. VI. Bull., t. LXVI, Regest. 837, f° 304.

161. Histor. Jahrbüch. Bd. VI, s. 457, Refer. to Alex. VI Bull., Regest. 821, f° 262.

162. Rome, Bibl. Barberini, Cod. XXXVI 7, f° 10.

163. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Bull. An. VI, VII, t. L. Regest. 821, f° 103vo.

164. Ibid. Alex. VI. Bull. An. VI, VII. T. L. Regest. 821, f° 199vo.

165. Ibid., Alex. VI. Bull. An. VIII, IX, t. LXVII. Regest. 838, f^{lis} 16, 19, 22.

166. Ibid., Alex. VI. Bull. An. VIII, IX, t. LXVIII, Regest. 839, f° 248vo.

167. Ibid., f° 104bis vo.

faithful labor and assistance against the cruel foes of Christianity, the Turks.

Cardinal Ascanio Sforza had disgraced his purple and rebelled against his benefactor, the Pope, for the sake of helping his brother, the duke of Milan, in the latter's insidious intrigues against the king of Naples ; but, as he soon learned of the alterations of his brother's plans and of his increasing opposition to Charles VIII, he was to change his own conduct over again.

When he fled from Rome, he hurried to Nepi, and from this place he dispatched at once to the duke of Milan several letters, whose contents ambassador Trotti reported to Ercole d'Este, on the 28th of January, 1495 [168]. He complained that the French king had not spoken a word with the Pope in favor of either him, or of the other cardinals : which statement was true, however, only in regard to himself. He wrote fiercely against Charles VIII, telling his brother that the King hated him and all his house, and that all Frenchmen shared in his hatred. Woe to us, he says, if he should be successful in his enterprise against the kingdom of Naples, for then he will give evident proof of his true disposition.

Their aversion to king Charles VIII was the cause of Sforza's conversion to pope Alexander VI. Cardinal Ascanio, like a prodigal son, sent a request of pardon to the Pontiff, whose favorite and confidant he had been ; relying on his natural inclination to mercy and peace. The Pope had much, indeed, to forgive ; but a bull of pardon and of reinstatement was prepared and issued without delay, on the 31st of January, 1495.

By this bull, drawn, for greater efficacy, in the form of a " Motu proprio, " the Pope first gives a mitigated summary

168. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 326.

of the offenses that he is to condone. He mentions the cardinal's departure from the place of his duties without papal permission, and reminds him of the gracious exception made in his favor, allowing him to protract his absence as long as he might wish, without incurring the censures, with which were threatened all other curials who should fail to obey the orders of returning to Rome within a specified time. He points out the abuse made of that concession by Ascanio sojourning with the Colonna and the Savelli, who were disobeying his orders and rebelling against him. He remarks that the cardinal has encouraged them to persevere in their disobedience and disloyalty and, finally, that he has co-operated with them in their capture of his fortress of Ostia and in their hostile incursions into the suburbs of Rome, by lending them the help of troops that were in his pay.

You suspect, he continues, addressing Ascanio, that by so doing you have brought upon yourself ecclesiastical censures and penalties. But, considering your great qualities, etc., We absolve and release you and all who have been soldiers at your command, who have been at your service or have been your accomplices in any excesses, crimes or misdeeds committed until this day, even against Ourselves or against the Church, and can be considered in every respect as crimes of lese majesty. We also dispense you from any irregularity which you may have incurred, We remove all disability and We wipe away all stain of infamy that you may have contracted. We reinstate you in the innocence wherein you were before the said crimes were perpetrated. The Pope, moreover, restored to him the cardinalitial dignity, and to him and his accomplices all dignities, benefices and offices of any kind, all pensions, rights and privileges of which they were in possession before his departure from the court..... The last words of the bull were, however, a serious admonition for the cardinal: " It is our will, " the Pontiff adds, " that

these foregoing favors shall be of avail to you, as long as you shall continue to be faithful and obedient to Us and to the Holy Apostolic See, as, by right and reason, it behooves a good and trustworthy cardinal to be " [169].

Pope Alexander VI thus generously granted to cardinal Sforza the full pardon of his disloyal conduct. Mistrusting perhaps in a forgiveness so easily obtained [170], the cardinal remained in Nepi, away from the papal court. Like the father of the prodigal son, or better yet, pope Alexander VI invited him to the Vatican palace and, to overcome all suspicion, sent, on the 6th of March, his nephew, cardinal Giovanni de Borgia, as a hostage to remain in Nepi till Ascanio should return. Cardinal Sforza arrived in the City the following day ; he was honorably received and lodged at the apostolic palace. His interview with the Pontiff was so reassuring and friendly that he allowed his given security to come back to Rome on the 9th, while he decided to remain at the papal court himself [171]. The renewed mercy of the Pope had conquered the waywardness of the rebel cardinal, who uttered with emotion, according to Sanudo, the words : " Recedant vetera, Nova sint omnia " [172], Let the past be passed, and let us commence anew. As soon as the Pontiff saw that his return to duty was sincere, he forgot all the harm which he had done and overloaded him with new evidences of kindness :

On the 11th of May, 1495, he reserved for him a parochial church in the diocese of Rimini [173].

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169. See Document 142.

170. Sanudo, ap. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 244, n. 2, says : from hatred against the Pontiff ; but this is hardly conceivable under the circumstances.

171. Burchard, ibid., pp. 244, 246.

172. Hymn of the Matins of Corpus Christi.

173. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bull., An. II, III, t. XIX, Regest. 790, f° 35.

On the 19th, of the same month, several other benefices were destined for him [174].

On the 5th of the following July, Ascanio received more benefices [175].

On the 27th of April, 1496, he obtained similar favors [176].

On the 30th of the next month he was granted a yearly pension on several benefices in Spain [177].

On the 9th of June, the Pope gave to Ascanio the monastery of Our Savior, of the Order of St. Benedict, in the diocese of Fünfkirchen [178].

On the same day he bestowed on him still another monastery [179].

On the 21st of December, 1496, one more convent and a " praepositura " were granted to cardinal Sforza [180]. Etc.

In return, Ascanio proved to be useful to the Pope. From payments made to him by the apostolic treasury, we see that he readily lent money to help the Pontiff in his financial need. Thus were repaid to him, on the 19th of January, 1497, two thousand five hundred and seventy-three florins ; three thousand five hundred ducats, on the 11th of May ; and again on the 28th of the same month and year, fifteen thousand ducats [181]. The cardinal is also mentioned as an active assistant to the Pope, at the solemn meeting in the apostolic palace, at which the ambassadors of Germany, Spain, Milan, Venice and Naples swore to pope Alexander VI, that their princes would defend and protect him, should the king of France try to take revenge for a bull excommunication, with which the Pontiff intended to deter him from invading Italy

174. Ibid. Bull., An. III, IV, t. Regest. 792, f° 132.
175. Ibid., f° 196.
176. Ibid. Bull., An. III, IV, t. XXV, Regest. 796, f° 165.
177. Ibid. Bull. An. III, IV. t. XXVII, Regest. 798, f° 1.
178. Ibid., Bull., An. IV, V, t. XXXV, Regest. 806, f° 22.
179. Ibid., f° 118vo.
180. Ibid., Bull., An V, VI, t. XL. Regest. 811, f° 233.
181. Archiv. Secret Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, vol. 528, at the respective dates.

again [182]. On this occasion, and about this time, Ascanio tried to undo the wrong he had done in abetting Charles VIII a few months before.

Cardinal Sforza remained henceforth faithful to pope Alexander VI, but his affection to an unworthy brother, Ludovico the Moro, brought dire misfortune upon him.

The duke Heinrich of Brunswick, who was a visitor in Rome, wrote to emperor Maximilian, on the 17th of July, 1497, that Ascanio, being displeased with the Pontiff, was then staying at the castles of the Colonna barons [183]. The cardinal was unjustly suspected of the murder of Giovanni de Borgia, duke of Gandia ; but the Pope himself declared him innocent ; and, three weeks after, we find him continually at the Roman court [184].

ARTICLE VI. — CARDINAL SFORZA A CAPTIVE ; WHAT THE POPE DID FOR HIM.

According to Gregorovius [185], cardinal Ascanio Sforza fled, " floh, " from Rome to his brother, the duke of Milan, on the 24th of July, 1499 ; and was soon followed by cardinal Sanseverino. We contest the correctness of his expression. The Roman contemporary, Burchard, relates the incident in the following manner : On that same 14th of July, 1499, the Most Reverend lord Ascanius left Rome, under the pretense of a hunting excursion, without asking permission of the Pope, if I remember well. He was going to his brother, Ludovico, duke of Milan, on important business regarding the estate, honor and interests of the Duke. On the 23d of

182. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchivs, Maximiliana, 1497, Aug. 10.

183. Vienna, Filiale Ibid., July 17th.

184. Burchard, Diar., t. II, pp. 392, seqq.

185. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 427.

the same month, when at Nettuno, he went on board a galley of king Frederic of Naples bound for Piombino, from where he was to proceed by land ; but he made a landing on the territory of Siena, and from there he wrote to the Pope and to the Sacred College, asking leave of absence, and giving the reasons of his departure from Rome [186].

These reasons are evidently proof that he feared no harm from the Pontiff or from his colleagues; but that he considered it a duty to help a brother, now threatened by the approaching army of Louis XII. He alleged this reason as a good motive for the grant of his request, because he well knew the Pope to be an Italian patriot, who had always opposed foreign domination of Italian territory, and who had, in particular, expressed his opinion of the French invasion of Milan, when he had, not long before, sent his special envoys to congratulate Louis XII on his accession to the throne. He had, indeed, instructed them to officially request the King in his name, not to commence war against Ludovico the Moro, but rather to admit the prescription of fifty-years possession by the Sforzas, as his ancestors had done [187]. When we consider the efforts afterwards made by pope Alexander VI to obtain the liberation from captivity of this cardinal, whom he called innocent, we may readily presume that Ascanio's request was granted, and that his journey to Milan was not a flight from Rome.

The French entered the Milanese territory on the first days of August, 1499, and captured Alexandria and several other cities. Ludovico the Moro, frightened by their progress, sent, towards the end of that month, his children, in the care of his brother, the cardinal Ascanio, to emperor Maximilian, and himself, he left Milan for Germany, on the 2d of the following September [188]. Louis XII made his triumphal entry

186. Diar., t. II, pp. 546, 548.
187. See Document 146.
188. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 562.—According to Bartholomew Seneraga (Ibid. n. 2), cardinal Sanseverino was with Ascanio in his flight to Germany.

into that capital on the 6th of October, welcomed by a people tired of the oppression of their former tyrant [189]. After a month he returned to France, leaving the duchy in charge of his captain John James Trivulzio, who administered it in such a cruel and ribald manner, that the people revolted against their liberators and recalled the detested Sforzas. On the 3d of February, 1500, cardinal Ascanio reentered Milan at the head of a Swiss army, and Ludovico followed him two days later [190]. Meanwhile, the French soldiers gathered between Novarra and Asti, and waited for Ludovico the Moro, who came with his hired Swiss to give them battle [191]. When, however, the Duke's hired troops saw many of their countrymen among the ranks of the French, they refused to fight, and surrendered him into the hands of his enemies, on the 10th of April, 1500 [192].

At the news of his brother's capture, cardinal Ascanio fled from Milan towards Bologna, with six hundred mounted men and a great number of the Milanese nobility ; but, in the neighborhood of Piacenza, his troops were defeated by a body of Venetian soldiers led by Carlo Orsini, and he himself was made a prisoner and conducted to Venice [193]. The information of Ascanio's defeat reached Rome in the evening of the 15th of April [194].

Antonio Malegonnelle, the Florentine ambassador, wrote, on the 22d, that Ascanio sent a very pitiable letter to the Pope, saying that he had in three days lost his brother, his estate and his honor, his belongings and his freedom; begging His Holiness to kindly find a suitable manner in which he

189. Ibid., p. 564.
190. Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 396 ; Biagio Buonaccorsi, Diario dei Successi... dal' An. 1498 all' 1512, p. 27.
191. Buonaccorsi, ibid., p. 28 ; Balan, ibid., p. 398.
192. Balan, ibid., p. 398.
193. Buonaccorsi, ubi supra, p. 29.
194. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 35.

might restore him to liberty, and signing as : " Your unfortunate and afflicted Ascanio. " Then, the ambassador verified his name of " Mala gonnella, " a wicked tattling old woman, by adding that the Pope gave expression to satisfaction or displeasure at the occurrence, according to the person with whom he might happen to speak, but never showed any sign of compassion. I was the first, he says, to let him know Ascanio's ill luck, and he was highly pleased with the news [195].

The Pontiff's subsequent action will prove better than an ambassador's sayings, with what sentiments he received the information of the cardinal's detention. It shows how anxiously he made use of all possible means for his deliverance.

He soon ordered a special consistory, in order to obtain the co-operation of all the members of the Sacred College in his demand on the Venetians, to set free Ascanio Sforza. On the 4th of May, he selected the bishop of Tivoli, as extraordinary envoy to Venice, and carefully drew up the Instructions which he should follow and the arguments that he should set forth, to secure the object of his mission.

The Pope stated that he and the Sacred College were painfully shocked at the first news of the cardinal's arrest, especially because his detention was a violation of ecclesiastical liberty and of the honor of the Apostolic See. He directed his envoy to claim his liberation, in chosen and forcible language, threatening Venice with the displeasure of other princes and the application of severe ecclesiastical censures, in case that the Venetian senate should refuse to surrender Ascanio at once. He then answered all objections, that might be made, and instructed the bishop not to accept as definite a negative answer to his demand.

To those instructions he added a few words of consolation

195. Ibid., p. 41, n.

and encouragement for his unfortunate cardinal, words that are an eloquent testimony to the fatherly care and tender compassion of pope Alexander's charitable heart : " You shall try, " he told the bishop, " to obtain permission to see cardinal Ascanio and to speak to him, in our name and in the name of the Sacred College ; and ask them to keep him in less confined custody and to treat him with all kindness. After that, you shall, with the consent of the doge, visit the cardinal, in our name, console him as best you can and exhort him to be of good cheer and hopeful ; telling him that you are sent by Us and by the Cardinals, to procure his release and reinstatement " [196].

The mission of the bishop of Tivoli was of no avail. The Venetians had delivered Ascanio Sforza into the hands of two French envoys, already in the beginning of the month of May. The cardinal was led into Milan, on the 15th of that month, and taken from there, on the 5th of June, to the prison tower of Bourges, in Berry [197].

At the request of the Venetian authorities, who begged pardon for having detained the cardinal, the Pope granted them, in September, 1500, a brief of absolution from the excommunication and other censures, which they had incurred [198]. He was not slow in making demands also upon the king of France for the liberation of Ascanio. Louis XII answered, however, that he had no confidence at all in that cardinal, and that he could not expose himself to the danger of losing his county of Milan again, by returning him to Italy, a free man [199]. The Pontiff insisted and obtained, if not full

196. See Document 147.

197. Burchard, Diar., t. III, pp. 41, 45; Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds fr. Cod. 17522 : Jean Danton, Chronique des faictz et gestes du roy Louis douzeiesme ; Fonds fr. Cod. 20294, f° 48vo.

198. Albéri, Relazioni, ser. 2, vol. III, p. 13, and n.

199. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. IV ad VIII. Lib. VI, Regest. 872, f° 142.

freedom for the cardinal, at least his release from prison, through cardinal d'Amboise. On the 3d of January, 1502, the King called Ascanio to Blois, where he was received in a very friendly manner [200], and was given the liberty of traveling all over France. Cardinal d'Amboise was allowed to take him back to Rome, in the hope that he would vote for the French prelate at the next conclave [201].

How little we can rely on the sayings of the ambassadors of the time appears again from two dispatches of the Venetian envoy, Antonio Giustinian, who represents the Pope as the persecutor of the captive cardinal Sforza, when, on the 21st of December, 1502, he writes that " the king of France had required from the Pontiff the reinstatement of Ascanio, and the restitution of the Vicechancery and of all his benefices to him, because he was innocent " [202]. On the 4th of February, 1503, he writes again that, only after a vigorous letter and harsh words from the same King, the Pope consented to leave the chancery to cardinal Ascanio, but refused him the benefits of the sale of offices [203]. Ciaconius, probably misled by Giustinian, goes so far as to say [204] that pope Alexander VI, not satisfied yet with seeing Ascanio a captive in a high tower of Venice and a prisoner in France, cast him deeper to earth, by depriving him of the cardinalate.

We have just seen what pains the Pontiff took to restore to liberty the captive cardinal ; what he did to preserve for him the revenues of his offices and benefices, is told by the Vatican records.

Scarcely had Ascanio left Rome, when his lieutenant at the chancery, the bishop of Pesaro, died. The office could not be without a regent, and the Pope replaced the deceased

200. Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 398.
201. Ciaconius, Vitae Pontiff. Roman., t. III, col. 87.
202. Villari, Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, p. 281.
203. Ibid., p. 379.
204. Ubi supra.

incumbent with the bishop of Modena, on the 24th of August, 1499. As it became evident, however, that the latter was prevented by his other occupations from doing justice to his new duties, the Pontiff gave to the Cardinal vicechancellor an able lieutenant, in the person of the archbishop of Ragusa, on the 2d of January, 1500 [205].

By these appointments he took care that Ascanio's work should be performed, and by a special order of the 1st of the following month of May, he saw to it, that the emoluments and revenues of the office, or, as he says, of " Our Beloved Son, Ascanio Maria, cardinal deacon of St. Vitus in Macello Martirum, Vicechancellor of the Holy Roman Church, " should not be estranged, or spent by any one else. He commanded the chancery receiver of those incomes and fees to deposit them every month with his Treasurer general, Francis, archbishop of Cosenza ; and he ordered the clerics of his Treasury to give, whenever it should be required, an official statement of all such deposits, payable to the said Vicechancellor, as soon as he should be restored to his former liberty [206].

On the 22d of July, 1503, the Pope himself made a statement of the money received from the chancery and belonging to cardinal Ascanio, Vicechancellor, namely, twenty-one thousand gold ducats, ordinary revenues from the chancery, for the space of thirty-nine months, and three thousand gold ducats from the sale of minor offices, according to a late understanding with him ; and he ordered both his general and his private treasurers to insure those sums to the said Ascanio, by all the revenues of the Church, spiritual and temporal [207].

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205. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXV, 94, pp. 276vo, 277vo.
206. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Camer. 1497-1501. Lib. III. Armar. 29, no. 53, f° 115.
207. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Julii II. Div. Cam. 1502-1508. Armar. 29, no. 55, f° 79vo.

On that same 22d of July the Pontiff granted to cardinal Ascanio Sforza, although absent from Rome, all the privileges of cardinals residing at the papal court ; and, besides, gave him the right of renting out for two years all his offices and benefices, and of receiving at once the whole amount of the lease [208].

ARTICLE VII. — REINSTATEMENT OF CARDINAL, AND THE NOBLES COLONNA, AND OF CARDINAL SAVELLI.

It had been a pleasure for the Pope to forgive and reinstate cardinal Sforza, but it must have been hard on him, the lover of justice, to grant a like pardon to cardinals and vassals who had waged open war against him and who persisted yet in their spirit of rebellion.

To avoid greater evil, pope Alexander VI had felt obliged to submit to certain articles of an agreement with the French king, which was, at best, only " a project of convention, " says the French historian, Christophe [209], and not a regular treaty, as it is proved by the fact that no official document of such a treaty, whether original or record, is to be found, and the private reports of it are discordant, if not most contradictory among themselves. It was but a long list of exactions, that were not expected to be fulfilled any longer than the overbearing power should last. Yet, the Pontiff did not question the binding force of the stipulations, but scrupulously executed them as soon as possible.

The King had required the Pope " to restore to all the cardinals, who were his friends and servitors, all their former privileges, rights, dignities, benefices and offices ; notwith-

208. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar. An. XI, t. XCII. Regest. 863, f[11s] 309, 310.

209. Hist. de la Papauté, t. II, p. 435.

standing their wrongdoings in the past, upon the promise, made by himself, that they were to be loyal and obedient in the future, as good cardinals must be ". Charles VIII had also demanded that the Pope " should liberate all cardinals, who might ask or petition him for it, from the duty they had assumed, not to leave Rome without his permission; and that he should authorize them to go and live where they pleased ". He, furthermore, had exacted that the Pontiff " should return to the Colonna and Savelli lords, and to other barons, friends of the King, all their estates, possessions and offices which they had held heretofore ".

To comply with those demands, pope Alexander VI resigned himself to issue, on the 1st of February, 1495, a bull by which he granted to the cardinals Colonna and Savelli full pardon of their disobedience to his summoning them back to Rome within a certain time, and remaining with their relatives, Fabritius and Prospero Colonna, Antonello, Troiano and Troilo Savelli and with the nobleman Jerome d'Estouteville, all of whom he had declared rebels and their properties confiscated. He not only forgave them their mere disobedience, as Pastor says [210], but also their perfidious activity in encouraging their brothers to continue in their rebellion, and in assisting them with troops in their pay, at the capture of the fortress of Ostia and during the invasion of the district of Rome. He absolved them, as also the said Roman barons, together with all their abettors and servants from all excesses perpetrated by them until that day, and from all crimes of lese-majesty committed against himself and the Holy Church. He gave them all necessary dispensation from the censure of irregularity, abolished for them and the said barons all penalties of disablement and infamy, and restored to them

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210. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 330, n. 3.

and granted anew, to each of them, all their titles whether ecclesiastical or secular, their properties and estates, their cardinalitial and other dignities, their churches and monasteries, their benefices and charges. He, finally, conceded to the cardinals permission to reside or stay either in Rome or wherever else, as they might freely choose [211].

These beneficent concessions made no impression upon the hearts of the two cardinals. They went with the French king to help in the overthrow of king Alfonso of Naples, the protégé of their legitimate Superior ; and did not reappear at the papal court for a space of nearly two years. Burchard reports [212] that cardinal Colonna reentered Rome, the first time, on the 16th of December, 1496, and cardinal Savelli, on the 22d of the same month. Ciaconius [213] and Mizius [214] mistake in saying that cardinal Colonna went to Sicily and did not return for nine years, till the death of pope Alexander VI. Mizius might have noticed his error, when he reports that the cardinal, then residing at the castle of Subiaco, gave, on August 28th, 1500, a decision in favor of the monastery of that place, of which he was the commendatary. We will see later on that the Colonna and the Savelli, together with a few more allied families, were habitual insurgents against their suzerains, the Roman Pontiffs.

ARTICLE VIII. — REINSTATEMENT AND LATER RECONCILIATION OF CARDINAL GIULIANO DELLA ROVERE.

By other articles of the " agreement ", king Charles VIII had declared " that he took under his protection and safeguard the Prefect of Rome, John della Rovere, cardinal

211. See Document 143.
212. Diar., t. II, pp. 341, 343.
213. Vitae Pontiff. Roman., t. III, col. 80.
214. Cronaca Sublacense, p. 526.

Giuliano's brother, and required the Pontiff not to do against him any thing in any way whatever, no matter what he had done against His Holiness in the past. Charles himself should determine, within four months, the case of the Prefect's robbery of forty thousand ducats and other goods from the Pope, and of the imprisonment of some of his men ". The King had further exacted " that the Pontiff restore to the cardinal of St. Peter's Bands, Giuliano della Rovere, his legation of Avignon, his castles and fortresses, territories, rights and privileges, which he had received from him or from the Pontiffs before him, and nothing less ; and that he renew or confirm, if need be, all his former possessions " [215].

Pope Alexander VI could not but submit to those demands, how unjust and exorbitant soever they were. On the 28th of January, 1495, he issued a bull in favor of cardinal della Rovere, which reads as if, not the Pope, but the cardinal himself had dictated it [216]. Its preamble is a detailed description of the papal documents by which he has acquired the rights which should now be restored to him. It unavoidably mentions former penalties, deprivations made ; but not one of the misdeeds, for which they were imposed, is expressed, as we find it done in other bulls of this kind. Nor does the cardinal want to read in it the word, pardon or absolution, but he requires that his former rights and possessions be firmly secured to him, so as never to be taken away from him again. The document is so extraordinarily lengthy that we cannot afford the space for its copy, but we will here give an abstract of its various clauses.

After clearly setting forth, already in the preamble to the bull Giuliano's privilege of going and coming and of his

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215. See Document 144.

216. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I, II, III. Lib. III, Regest. 869, f° 239.—It commences with the words : Dum ad meritorum magnitudinem et preclara dona virtutum quibus illarum largitor Altissimus personam tuam multipliciter insignivit, etc.

residing in Rome or anywhere else, as he might see fit, Pope Alexander VI renews the letters of popes Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII conferring upon the cardinal the right of succession of the bishop of Lucca, and all the grants and concessions made to John della Rovere, the Prefect of Rome.

He annuls the letters by which he has revoked Giuliano's legation of Avignon and of the county of Venaissin.

He fully condones, in accord with the Articles agreed upon between him and king Charles VIII, to the said Prefect and his abettors all that they may have attempted against him, save what is provided in the said agreement ; and reinstates him, and his heirs, in the dignities and estates of which he may have been deprived.

He confirms the cardinal's former right of conferring all benefices reserved for his bestowal, so that they cannot be validly given without his consent.

He secures to him the revenues due from all properties confided to him, such as Ostia and Ronciglione with their fortresses and other castles and buildings, besides his office of Great Penitentiary ; the rights and privileges attached to his cardinalate, his churches, monasteries and all his benefices. He declares that the same applies to all members of his household, even to those absent from his court.

In particular, the treasurer of the Patrimony province shall be obliged to pay the wages of the castellan of Ronciglione and all arrears caused by the privation of the said town and fortress, now restored to him.

He decrees that Ostia and its fortress shall remain in the cardinal's guardianship, for which he shall receive, as of old, half of the salt tax of Velletri ; and he revokes all letters given to the contrary.

He restores to him the temporal and spiritual government of Velletri and Chora.

He annuls all sequestration of the revenues of churches,

monasteries and of all benefices of the cardinal and of his courtiers ; and orders their incomes to be paid in full.

He returns to cardinal Giuliano the government of the minor penitentiaries and the right of appointing eight of the procurators of the Penitentiary office.

He ordains and decrees that, should he or his successors ever recall any favors, neither the grant of the diocese of Lucca nor any concession herewith named shall be included in the revocation ; and should any repeals be made, wherein the name of Giuliano della Rovere or of his cardinalate be mentioned, such repeals shall be understood so as to approve and to grant anew all that is herewith conceded ; and they must be so interpreted by all judges.

He binds himself, upon his word as a Roman Pontiff, and in the presence of the French king and of cardinal Giuliano, to observe all the foregoing stipulations, and never under any pretext to contravene any one of them.

To justify this bull, which is a humiliation of authority before rebellion, and a triumph of might over right, the Pope finally adds : " The King, for you, and yourself likewise have promised that you shall always be faithful and obedient to Us, as by right and reason it becomes a good cardinal to be towards a Roman Pontiff. "—Yet, with the adjunct : " All the above written remaining in force, however. "

Thus firmly secured in all his possessions, cardinal Giuliano left Rome and went to Naples with Charles VIII, for the ruin of king Alfonso, his former friend and protector. After a few months he returned to France, still in the company of the King.

According to his solemn promise made to the Pope, the king of France had, on his return from Naples, given back the fortress of Ostia into the hands of Giuliano, from whom he had received it ; and in 1496 and the following year, the stronghold was in the custody of a French garrison command-

ed by a French pirate, the cruel Menaut or Menaldo de Guerra, in the name of cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, independently of the Pope, in spite of whom and to whose detriment Menaldo robbed or sank every vessel, laden with wheat or wine, that ventured to enter the Tiber, and soon caused dearth and scarcity of the necessaries of life in the city of Rome. Such was the way in which the cardinal understood the promise he had made to be faithful and obedient to the Pontiff, as a good cardinal should be.

Seeing his unrelenting hostility, pope Alexander VI issued against him, on the last day of February, 1496, a bull that suspended all papal letters allowing him the " regressum, " or resumption, at their next vacancy, of benefices resigned in favor of others, whether on the condition of a pension or not [217]. He also took away from him the administration of Ronciglione, which he admitted to the immediate government of the Church ; and, on the 9th of November, absolved the city from its oath of fidelity to the cardinal of St. Peter's Bands [218]. We have no document showing that the Pope punished his continued open rebellion, by revoking his great bull of reinstatement ; but that he did so is indicated by assertions of contemporary authors. It seems, however, that he did not again deprive Giuliano of all his titles, benefices, and privileges, until he saw that the Roman people were suffering severely from the injustice and cruelty of his lieutenant in Ostia, not before the year 1497 ; for we find the cardinal enjoying his insured freedom in Rome, on the 25th of December, 1496, on which day he dated from that city a letter, allowing a priest of Salzburg to choose his own confessor [219].

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217. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I ad X. Lib. VII, Regest. 873, f° 233.

218. Rome, Bibl. Corsiniana, Cod. 1045, alias 34. G. 9, f° 221vo.

219. Munich, Reichsarchiv. Regesta, 1496, IV.

Menaldo de Guerra had succeeded in reducing Rome to the verge of starvation, and pope Alexander VI was compelled, in the beginning of March, 1497, to send against the fortress of Ostia his own army and the troops of the Spanish captain, Consalvo Fernandez, who captured the stronghold and led Menaldo in chains to the City. We have noticed the Pontiff's extreme mercy on this occasion.

As the possession of Ostia had been the source and the foundation of all the authority and power of Giuliano della Rovere, so was its loss the end of his influence on the French king and also of his proud opposition to the Pope.

De Cherrier states [220] that Giuliano had become displeased with Charles VIII, but Malipiero expresses this change by saying [221] that he had lost his consideration with the King, who, by the fall of Ostia, had lost a valuable naval base of operation against Neapolitan vessels. Like a prodigal son, the cardinal applied, towards the middle of April, 1497, for an understanding with the Pope [222], and from this day on assumed an attitude that, outwardly at least, was courteous if not friendly towards the Pontiff [223].

Pope Alexander VI, although now in a position to make him bitterly feel the wrongs of his rebellion, met him more than halfway. He gave not a thought to revenge, but he offered him such terms, as if he had been himself a suppliant for the cardinal's friendship. The Florentine ambassador in Rome wrote on the 5th of May, 1497 : " I learned that the agreement between the Pope and the cardinal of St. Peter's Bands, Giuliano, is concluded ; the Pontiff will return Ostia

220. Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 391.

221. Annal. Veneti, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. 493.

222. Ranke, Geschichten, p. 92.

223. That he did not depose all hatred is evidenced by his words and actions, when after the death of pope Alexander VI he could freely manifest the real feelings of his heart.

to him, and to the Prefect, his brother, all his estate, although the settlement of some money is reserved. " According to Sanudo, the Pope is to forgive him all his offenses and to restore to him all his benefices, incomes and titles ; he requests him to come and live in Italy, and, if he comes to stay in Rome, the Pope will return to him also the citadel of Ostia; yet the cardinal must repay the twelve hundred ducats, which were required to repair the fortress. To the cardinal's brother are to be rendered the title of Prefect of Rome, his estates and other places. As regards the forty thousand ducats stolen by him, the question of restitution shall be left to the cardinal [224]. Malipiero [225] reports the same conditions. Çurita, who read all the documents in the case, says [226]: It was agreed that Giuliano should reside in Bologna or Senigallia, that his benefices should be restored to him and all his past offenses forgiven ; and that, should he stay in Rome, a governor would be named for the fortress of Ostia, who should be faithful to both the Pope and the cardinal. He also mentions the favors bestowed upon the cardinal's brother, John della Rovere.

On the 10th of July, 1497, Giuliano had left France already, and was on his way to Italy, as we learn from his letters [227], and in the course of that month he arrived in Venice, where he obtained the Doge's intervention towards a favorable settlement of his brother's interests with the Pope. He gave further signs of good dispositions, when, on that day, he wrote from Carpentras to the Pope a courteous and friendly letter of condolence, on the occasion of the murder of Giovanni de Borgia, duke of Gandia ; in which he recognized

224. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 366.
225. Ubi supra, p. 488.
226. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. III. Cap. IV, fº 120vº.
227. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, s. 50.

him as the Vicar of Christ, and praised his patience and constancy in all human misfortunes [228].

The negotiations were soon concluded and an agreement was made before a notary public, one particular effect of which was a papal order of the 1st of September, 1497, to deliver to Giuliano, bishop of Ostia, twenty measures of salt and to pay him thirty ducats of gold [229].

On the 1st of the following December, the Pontiff confirmed, " motu proprio, " with apostolic authority, the various articles of the notarial contract. In this papal document it is said that Giuliano intends to be, for all future time, obedient as a good, faithful and devoted cardinal, and that, reciprocally, the Pope will show him all fatherly affection, as he had always desired to do. It is also stated that the articles had been agreed upon through the intervention of cardinal George de Costa, and that Giuliano had promised under oath to observe them. By these same letters the Pontiff restored, moreover, to the cardinal all privileges, favors and indults, which he or the Popes his predecessors had ever granted to him. Yet, when absent from Rome, he would not be allowed to make use of them any more than other cardinals were [230].

Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere was in Rome on the 28th of May, 1498 ; for on that day he sends from his residence in the City, letters granting one hundred days of indulgence, to be gained at certain festivities in the church of St. Egidius of Schidinglen [231].

He had returned to France after the death of Charles VIII, and, when Cesar de Borgia was sent to king Louis XII, he

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228. Id., ibid.

229. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Armar. 29. no. 52. Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1497-1499, fo 14vo.

230. See Document 144.

231. Munich, K. Reichsarchiv, Regesta, 1498, II.

showed himself quite friendly towards the Pope, and acted in concert with him [232].

On the 30th of August, 1498, the Pontiff granted him a pension of sixty gold ducats from a monastery which he had resigned [233].

He was selected on the 4th of February, 1499, together with Cesar de Borgia and others, as an envoy of Louis XII to perform, in the King's name, the solemn act of obeisance to pope Alexander VI, " whom he was to recognize as the true Rector of the universal Church, the true Vicar of God on earth, and the one to whom full, sincere and entire filial submission is due ; and to promise him all due obedience, as the King's ancestors had done towards all former Pontiffs, who had lawfully entered upon their office " [234].

That he went to the City in 1499 appears from the fact that, in that year, he dated letters from Rome to the abbess of Chiemsee and to a priest of Salzburg, allowing them the choice of their confessor [235].

The Borgias and the della Rovere came closer and closer together. John, the Prefect of Rome, affianced, on the 2d of September, 1500, his eight-years-old son, Francesco Maria, to Angela de Borgia, daughter of Jofre, son of the Pope's sister [236].

New dignities and benefices were also bestowed on cardinal Giuliano. In fact, as no member of the Sacred College had hated the Pope more bitterly and done him greater wrong,

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232. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 115 is wrong in dating from this time his reconciliation with the Pontiff, through the medium of Louis XII ; and simply slanders him and the Pope by asserting that he favored the Borgia's plans to subjugate his own country to the yoke of the French conqueror. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 423, n.

233. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bull. An. IX, t. LXXII, Regest. 843, f° 92.

234. An authentic document : Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds fr., Cod. 2930, f° 1.

235. Munich, K. Reichsarchiv. Regesta, 1499, IV.

236. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. s. 115.

so was there none whom the Pope favored more, as soon as he could think that his old enemy had become sincerely dutiful. Among other favors we have noticed the following :

On the 24th of May, 1499, he reserved two canonries with their prebends, in the cathedral of Genoa, and at once conferred them on cardinal Giuliano della Rovere [237].

On the 1st of September, 1500, he commended to him the Cistercian monastery of Carevallis, outside the walls of Milan, worth a yearly revenue of two thousand ducats [238].

The 24th of January, 1501, seems to have been devoted exclusively to the realization of every possible wish of cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, for his own advantage and for that of his two nephews, Galeotto and Francesco Maria.

On that day, the Pope made an exception for him, letting him profit by all privileges granted to cardinals present at the Roman court, even though he should be absent from it [239].

On that same day, he granted him the right of " regressus, " or return in case of vacancy to the diocese of Bologna, which he had resigned [240].

On that day again, he named him administrator bishop of the diocese of Vercelli [241].

Still on that same 24th, the cardinal having resigned the dioceses of Lucca and Savonna, the Pontiff united with the latter the episcopal see of Noli and named, at his request, as administrator of all three dioceses his nephew, Galeotto della Rovere ; reserving, however, for Giuliano the return to the cathedrals, in case that Galeotto should in any way lose any or all of them [242].

On that same auspicious day, the cardinal was authorized

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237. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bull. An. VII, VIII, t. LIV, Regest. 825, f° 160.

238. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. IV ad VIII, Lib. VI. Regest. 872, f° 142.

239. Ibid. Secret. An. I ad XI. Lib. V, Regest. 871, f° 290vo.

240. Ibid., f° 287vo.

241. Ibid., f° 285.

242. Ibid., f° 288.

to get, instead of a pension, all the fruits and revenues of the united dioceses of Savonna and of Noli [243].

Finally, on that 24th of January, 1501, pope Alexander VI confirmed the bulls of his predecessor, Sixtus IV, in favor of the descendants of John della Rovere, Giuliano's brother, now deceased. He granted anew to his first-born, Francesco Maria, only eleven years old, the city of Senigallia with its district, the Vicariate of Mondavio and adjacent castles, and also the office of Prefect of Rome ; and dispensed him in minor age, enabling him to accept this honorable position [244].

On the 4th of July, 1501, the Pope granted to the nephew of " our venerable brother Giuliano, bishop of Ostia, " a dispensation for three benefices [245].

On the 4th of September, 1501, cardinal Giuliano received a canonry and prebend in the church of St. John of Lateran in Rome, and other benefices [246].

On October the 15th, 1502, the Pope gratified cardinal Giuliano a last time, as far as we know, by prolonging his legation to Avignon.

When considering the facts of the relations between pope Alexander VI and cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, we wonder whether any other Sovereign is to be found who can compare with the Pontiff in generosity, forbearance, forgiveness and real magnanimity towards a subject, who ceased to fight and harass him only when he could rebel no longer. We call it simply perversion of history, if Pastor [247] tries to make of the cardinal a victim of the Pope's imputed hardheartedness, by saying that, on the 3d of August, 1503, Giuliano della Rovere

243. Ibid., f° 289.
244. Ibid., f° 309.
245. Ibid. Alex. VI. Bull. Div. An. IV ad XI, t. IV, Regest. 882, f° 231.
246. Ibid. Alex. VI. Bull. An. IX, X, t. LXXV, Regest. 846, f° 159.
247. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 508.

returned to Rome from a banishment that had lasted almost ten years! An exile he was, forsooth; one who had, of his own accord, left his post of duty, in spite of his lawful Superior, to plot against him in France; and who then reappeared in Rome to humiliate him; who, when forgiven, was enticed to reside in Italy, and at the papal court; who made visits in Rome whenever he saw fit to do so, and was overloaded with favors by the Pontiff, even when, against his wishes, he preferred to live in France.

DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS

DOCUMENT 94.

The bull " In Cena Domini ".

Alexander etc. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Consueverunt Romani Pontifices predecessores nostri ad retinendum puritatem religionis christiane et ipsius unitatem, que in conjunctione membrorum ad unum caput Christum videlicet ejusque vicarium principaliter consistit et sanctam fidelium societatem ab offensione servandam arma justitie et ministerium apostolatus in presenti celebritate exercere.

Nos igitur vetustum et solemnem hunc morem sequentes excommunicamus et anathematizamus ex parte dei omnipotentis patris et filii et spiritus sancti auctoritate quoque beatorum petri et pauli ac nostra omnes hereticos Cazaros, Paterenos, Pauperes de Lugduno, Arnaldistas, Speronistas, Passagerios, Viclefistas seu Ussitas, Fraterellos de opinione nuncupatos et quoslibet alios hereticos quocunque nomine censeantur et omnes fautores receptatores et defensores eorundem.

Item excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes pirratas cursarios latrunculos maritimos et alios precipue qui mare nostrum a Monte Argentario usque Terracinam discurrere et navigantes in illo depredari mutilare interficere ac rebus et bonis suis spoliare presumpserint et presumunt ac omnes receptatores eorumdem ac eis auxilium dantes consilium vel favorem.

Item excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes qui in terris suis nova pedagia imponunt vel prohibita exigunt.

Item excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes falsarios bullarum seu licterarum apostolicarum et supplicationum gratiam vel justitiam concernentium per summum pontificem vel vicecancellarium seu gerentes vices eorum aut offitium vicecancellarii Sancte rom. ecclesie de mandato ejusdem pontificis signitarum, aut sub nomine ejusdem Summi Pontificis seu vicecancellarii aut gerentium vicem predictorum signantes supplicationes easdem.

6. Item excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes illos qui equos arma ferrum lignamina et alia prohibita deferunt

Saracenis Turchis et aliis Christi nominis inimicis, qui Christianos impugnant.

7. Item excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes impedientes seu invadentes victualia seu alia ad usum Romane curie necessaria adducentes, vel ne ad Romanam curiam ipsam adducantur vel deferantur impedientes seu perturbantes, et qui talia faciunt vel defendunt, cujuscunque fuerint ordinis preeminentie conditionis vel status, etiam si pontificali regali reginali aut alia quavis ecclesiastica vel mundana prefulgeant dignitate.

8. Item excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes illos qui ad sedem apostolicam venientes et recedentes ab eadem necnon omnes illos qui jurisdictionem ordinariam vel delegatam aliquam non habent in eadem curia morantes temeritate propria rapiunt spoliant et detinent aut ex proposito deliberato verberare mutilare vel interficere presumunt et qui talia fieri faciunt seu mandant.

9. Item excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes temere mutilantes vulnerantes interficientes capientes carcerantes et detinentes patriarchas archiepiscopos et episcopos, eorumque mandatores.

10. Item excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes illos qui per se vel alium seu alios quascunque personas ecclesiasticas vel seculares ad Romanam curiam super earum causis et negotiis recurrentes illaque in eadem curia prosequentes, aut procurantes negotiorumque gestores advocatos vel procuratores ipsarum, vel etiam auditores seu judices super dictis causis seu negotiis deputatos occasione causarum vel negotiorum hujusmodi verberant mutilant vel occidunt seu bonis spoliant, ac illos qui ne licteris et mandatis apostolice Sedis et legatorum ac nuntiorum et judicum delegatorum ejusdem gratiam vel justitiam concernentibus decretisque super illis et re judicata processibus et executorialibus, non habito primum eorum beneplacito et assensu, pareatur, neve tabelliones et notarios licterarum et processuum executiones instrumenta vel acta conficere aut confecta parti cujus interest tradere sub gravissimis penis prohibere statuere seu mandare, quive in animarum earundem periculum se a nostra et Romani pontificis pro tempore obedientia pertinaciter subtrahere seu quomodolibet recedere presumunt, quive jurisdictionem seu fructus ad ecclesiasticas per-

sonas pertinentes usurpant vel accipiunt, vel qui per se vel alium seu alios directe vel indirecte predicta exequi procurare aut in eisdem consilium auxilium vel favorem procurare non verentur, cujuscumque preeminentie dignitatis ordinis conditionis aut status fuerint, etiam si pontificali regali reginali vel quavis alia prefulgeant dignitate.

11. Item excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes mutilantes vulnerantes et interficientes seu capientes et detinentes seu depredantes Romipetas et peregrinos ad Urbem causa devotionis seu peregrinationis accedentes et in ea morantes vel recedentes ab ipsa, et in hiis dantes auxilium consilium vel favorem.

12. Item excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes illos qui per se vel alium seu alios directe vel indirecte sub quocunque titulo vel colore occupant detinent vel hostiliter discurrunt seu invadunt aut occupare detinere vel discurrere aut invadere hostiliter presumunt in totum vel in partem Almam Urbem, Regna Sicilie seu Trinacrie, insulas Sardinie Corsice, Terram citra farum, patrimonium beati petri in Tuscia, ducatum Spoletanum, comitatum Venaysin., Sabinen. Marchie Anchonitan. Masse Trebarie Romandiole Campanie et Maritime provincias, ac terras specialis commissionis Arnulforum, Bononien. Ferrarien. Beneventan. Perusin. Arminen. Civitatis Castelli Tudertin. et alias civitates terras et loca vel ad ipsam Roman. ecclesiam spectantia et pertinentia et adherentia, ac fautores et defensores eorum seu in hiis dantes eisdem auxilium consilium vel favorem.

13. Non obstant. quibuscunque privilegiis... Nulli etc. Si quis etc. Datum Rome apud Sanctum petrum Anno etc. Mccccixxxx tertio pridie Non. Aprilis pont. nri. a° 1°.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. De Curia, An. I ad X, t. I ; Regest. 874, f^lis 5vo, 16vo, 25, 29, 37 and 40.

DOCUMENT 95.

Pope Alexander VI institutes book censorship and orders destruction of bad books.

Alexander etc. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Inter multiplices nostre solicitudinis curas illam imprimis suscipere pro nostro

pastorali officio debemus, ut que salubria et laudabilia ac Catholice fidei consona et bonis moribus conformia nostro tempore oriuntur non solum conserventur et augeantur, verum etiam ad posteros propagentur, et que vitiosa damnabilia ac impia sunt succidantur et radicitus extirpentur nec pullulare usquam sinantur, ea in agro dominico et Vinea Domini Sabaoth dumtaxat conseri permittendo quibus fidelium mentes pasci spiritualiter possint, eradicata zizania et oleastri sterilitate succisa. Attendentes igitur quod sicut humano generi plurimum conferre dinoscitur ut ea que ad bonas artes ac probatos mores pertinent divulgantur et ad lucem ac hominum notitiam tam presentium quam eorum qui futuri sunt deducantur, quod maxime fieri solet beneficio literarum quibus ipsa veritas quasi alligata ad usum absentium pariter et futurorum deducitur, conservatur et propagatur, ita pernitiosum et maxime eidem humano generi inimicum censeri debet si ea que noxia sunt et sanis doctrinis honestisque moribus et imprimis orthodoxe religioni comperiuntur adversa publicentur et ministerio literarum ad noticiam plurimorum extendantur, quemadmodum enim bonum quanto universalius, tanto utilius divinius et majus, ita et malum quanto amplius et copiosus, tanto deterius abhominabiliusque arbitrari debet, maxime quia humane fragilitatis cogitationes proniores reperiuntur ad malum quam bonum. Hinc est quod sicut ars impressoria literarum utilissima habetur ad faciliorem multiplicationem laborum probatorum et utilium, ita plurimum damnosa foret si illius artifices ea arte perverse uterentur passim imprimendo que perniciosa sunt ; debent igitur impressores ipsi merito compesci oportunis remediis ut ab eorum impressione desistant que fidei Catholice contraria fore noscuntur vel adversa, aut in mentibus fidelium possunt verisimiliter scandalum generare. Unde nos, qui illius locum tenemus in terris qui ad illuminandum hominum mentes et errorum tenebras exterminandum descendit e celis, cum fideli relatione intellexerimus artificio dicte artis plurimos libros atque tractatus in diversis mundi partibus, presertim Colonien. Maguntinen. Treveren. et Magdeburgen. provinciis fuisse impressos, in se varios errores ac pernitiosa dogmata etiam Sacre Christiane religioni inimica continentes, et indies etiam passim imprimi, hujusmodi detestande tabi sine ulteriori delatione occurrere cupientes, ut ex commisso desuper pastorali officio tenemur,

omnibus et singulis dicte artis impressoribus et illorum obsequiis quomodolibet insistentibus et se circa eorum imprimendi artem quoquo modo exercentibus in provinciis predictis degentibus, sub excommunicationis late sententie pena, quam eo ipso si contra fecerint incurrisse noscantur, et pena pecuniaria per venerabiles fratres archiepiscopos vel eorum vicarios in spiritualibus generales aut officiales, quemlibet videlicet eorum in provincia sua, pro eorum arbitrio imponenda et exigenda ac Camere apostolice applicanda auctoritate apostolica presentium tenore districtius inhibemus ne de cetero libros tractatus aut scripturas qualescumque imprimere aut imprimi facere quoquo modo presumant, nisi consultis prius super hoc archiepiscopis vel vicariis aut officialibus prefatis, ac eorum speciali et expressa impetrata licentia gratis concedenda, quorum conscientias oneramus ut antequam licentiam hujusmodi concedant, imprimenda diligenter examinent sive a peritis et catholicis examinari faciant, et procurent ac diligenter advertant ne quid imprimatur quod orthodoxe fidei contrarium, impium et scandalosum existat. Et quia parum esset adversus futuras impressiones providere, nisi que jam fore noscuntur erronea, impia et scandalosa supprimantur, eisdem archiepiscopis vicariis et officialibus mandamus auctoritate predicta ut videlicet quilibet eorum in dicta provincia sua, moneant et requirant auctoritate nostra omnes et singulos impressores ac personas alias cujuscunque dignitatis, status, gradus, ordinis, conditionis et preeminentie existant, ut omnia et singula Inventaria librorum et tractatuum quorumcumque impressorum, ac libros et tractatus impressos in quibus per archiepiscopos sive vicarios aut officiales predictos aut eorum singulos aliqua fidei catholice contraria, impia, adversa et scandalosa aut male sonantia contineri judicatum sive declaratum fuerit, omni fraude et dolo cessantibus, infra terminum eorum arbitrio prefigendum, coram eis respective consignent et presentent, sub simili excommunicationis late sententie et eorum arbitrio exigenda pecuniaria pena, ut prefertur, incurrenda ; studeantque sic impressos, etiam alias prout expedire putaverint, ad eos deferri et delatos comburi facere ; et ne quispiam illos legere vel tenere presumat sub similibus censuris et penis auctoritate nostra prohibere ; nec omittant diligenter inquirere quibus procurantibus tales libri impressi fuerint, quave de causa illud procuraverint in fidei catholice

(quam profitentur) detrimentum, et an procuratores ipsi de aliqua heresi suspecti sint, Contradictores quoslibet et rebelles etiam cujuscumque dignitatis, status, gradus, ordinis et conditionis, necnon Communitates, universitates et Collegia quecunque per excommunicationis, suspensionis et interdicti aliasque sententias censuras et penas ecclesiasticas cum illarum aggravatione et reaggravatione, appellatione postposita, compescendo, invocato etiam ad hoc, si opus fuerit, auxilio Brachii secularis, cui, ut diligentius opem ferat, medietatem dicte pene pecuniarie quam exegerit applicamus.

Non obstantibus constitutionibus...

Et quia difficile foret presentes literas ad singula loca.....

Hortamur preterea eosdem archiepiscopos et vicarios et officiales ut, zelum fidei et salutem animarum pre oculis habentes, in premissis ita se diligentes et solertes studeant exhibere, quod eis a deo perhennis vite premium et a nobis condigna proveniat actio gratiarum. Nulli ergo etc. Si quis etc. Datum Rome apud Sanctumpetrum Ann° etc. Mccccc° primo Kl. Junii Pont. nri. Anno nono.

Duplicata Triplicata et Quadruplicata sub eadem data et scripta per eumdem scriptorem et expedita per eumdem secretarium.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bull. Div. An. IV ad XI, t. IV, Regest. 882, f° 322.

DOCUMENT 96.

Pope Alexander VI gives to the Hospice of St. James of the Spaniards a house forfeited by the renegade bishop of Calahorra.

.....Nos igitur cupientes eidem Hospitali (San Giacomo dei Spagnuoli, in Roma), pro hujusmodi hospitalitate servanda... Motu proprio... domum quamdam... per iniquitatis filium et perditionis alumnum Petrum de Aranda olim Epum Callaguritanum emptam... et ex eo quod idem Petrus sui status et honoris immemor, Deique timore postposito in haeresim quam abiuraverat prolabi et alia quamplura excessus et crimina committere non formidavit, et ut talis per Nos nostramque definitivam sen-

tentiam, praevio diligenti examine, de fratrum nostrorum (consilio) latam declaratus extitit etc... eidem hospitali etc... tenore presentium elargimur et liberaliter donamus etc...

Ms. Fundaciones de Santiago, t°. 1° ABCDE. II, i. C. 1. — Now preserved in S. Maria in Monserrato, Rome—f° 1.

DOCUMENT 97.

Pope Alexander VI revokes favors granted to converted Marrani, because of abuse made of them.

Alexander etc. Ad futuram rei memoriam... Sane pro parte carissimi in Xro. filii nostri Ferdinandi regis et carissime in Xro. filie nostre Helisabeth regine Hispaniarum catholicorum nobis nuper exhibita petitio continebat quod postquam in Regnis et dominiis suis contra hereticos et a fide apostatas processum fuit, nonnulli ex his qui heretici declarati et ut tales condemnati et quorum etiam statue combuste fuerunt, quorum nonnulli extra regna et dominia hujusmodi aufugerunt, necnon aliqui qui errores suos confessi publicam penitentiam fecerunt, aliquas absolutiones ab eorum excessibus et crimine heresis ac a fide apostasie hujusmodi, necnon dispensationes ac rehabilitationes, a dilectorum filiorum heretice pravitatis inquisitorum jurisdictione exemptiones a nobis obtinuisse dicuntur, quarum pretextu indies ad priora dilabuntur, non sine pernitioso exemplo et scandalo plurimorum. Quare pro parte Regis et Regine predictorum nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum ut dispensationes, rehabilitationes et exemptiones predictas revocare cassare et annullare aliasque in premissis oportune providere de benignitate apostolica dignaremur. Nos igitur qui scandalis ne eveniant quantum cum deo possumus libenter obviamus, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, rehabilitationes dispensationes et exemptiones predictas sic condemnatis et declaratis, ac qui publicam penitentiam hujusmodi fecerunt concessas et literas super illis confectas duntaxat, et quascunque clausulas derogatorias in se contineant auctoritate apostolica et ex certa scientia tenore presentium revocamus cassamus et annullamus. Decernentes rehabilitationes dispensationes et exemptiones predictas vigore absolutionum concessarum hujusmodi quas quoad forum conscientie duntaxat

et non alias in suis robore et efficacia permanere volumus, nemini de cetero suffragari posse sive debere. Non obstantibus... Nulli ergo... Si quis... Datum Rome Anno etc. Millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo septimo. Quarto Kls, Septembr Pont. nri. anno sexto.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. : Alex. VI. Secret., An. I ad X, Lib. VII, Regest. 873, f° 470.

DOCUMENT 98.

Pope Alexander VI helps the Swedes to resist the attacks of the schismatic Moscovites.

Alexander Epus. servus servorum Dei : Venerabilibus fratribus archiepiscopo Upsalen. et Epo. Aboen. Sal. et ap. bnm. Ex relatione dilecti filii Herningi Gadh prepositi ecclesie Lincopen. familiaris et cubicularii nostri et totius Suetie apud Sedem apostolicam oratoris accepimus quod anno proxime immediate elapso, circa festum Sancti Andree Apostoli et pluribus aliis vicibus, Rutheni scismatici Christi nominis inimici cum sexaginta millibus hominum magnam partem Aboen. dioc. in regno Suetie constitute incendiis ecclesiarum blasfemationibus nominis Christi et ejus sanctorum, cedibus rapinis matronarum et virginum illarum partium violationibus stupris et deflorationibus ac homicidiis quamplurimum devastarunt multa millia christianorum occidendo et servituti perpetue subjiciendo, adeo quod vix in partibus illis reperiatur qui contra eosdem scismaticos pugnare et se defendere velit aut possit, et nisi de celeri et oportuno remedio provideatur tota diocesis Aboen. et demum regnum Suetie cum Terra Livonie et provinciis ei adjacentibus per dictos scismaticos subjugari formidatur. Ea propter nobis supplicari fecerunt humiliter dilecti filii Steno Sture dicti regni Suecie vicerex et gubernator ac ejusdem regni predicti archiepiscopus et episcopi, qui ultra quinquaginta milia hominum hodierna die contra dictos scismaticos castramentati sunt, quatenus illis qui in fine terrarum Christianorum et confinibus dictorum scismaticorum continua bella gerendo consistunt, more pii patris compatiendo, omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus christifidelibus in dicto Regno et Terra Livonie pro tempore

existentibus et quibusvis aliis qui contra dictos scismaticos et ad eos compescendum et debellandum ire et pro Christi nomine contra illos debellare voluerint ac qui premissa faciendo in die conflictus decedere contigerit vere penitentibus et confessis plenariam omnium suorum peccatorum remissionem, necnon senio confectis aut alio quovis impedimento legitimo impeditis et ibidem ire minime valentibus qui ad premissa manus porexerint adjutrices armatos stipendiando aut alias quovis modo subveniendo similem peccatorum suorum remissionem semel in vita et in mortis articulo auctoritate apostolica concedere et indulgere dignaremur. Nos igitur attendentes requisitionem hujusmodi fore justam, ac volentes quantum cum deo possumus scandalis hujusmodi celeriter obviare, fraternitati vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus fidelibus ipsis in conflictibus et bellis hujusmodi decedentibus plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum remissionem, necnon ad premissa manus porrigentibus adjutrices ut prefertur similem peccatorum remissionem semel in vita et in mortis articulo auctoritate apostolica impendatis, ac effectum presentium in partibus illis debite publicetis et impendi ac publicari faciatis, super quibus omnibus vobis et vestrum cuilibet plenam et omnimodam potestatem licentiam et facultatem auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium concedimus et impartimur. Constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ceterisque contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum Anno incarnationis dominice Millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo sexto Decimo kls. Julii Pont. nri. Anno quarto.

Duplicata sub eadem Data et script. per eumdem Scriptorem.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic : Alex. VI. Secr. An. I ad X. Lib. VII Regest. 873, f° 296vo.

DOCUMENT 99.

Pope Alexander VI reconciles schismatic Georgia with the Church.

Alexander etc. Carissimo in Xro. filio nostro Constantino Georgianorum Regi Illustri Sal. etc. Accepimus per dilectum filium Nilum confessorem et oratorem tuum literas tuas quibus

summam erga nos et sanctam Sedem apostolicam devotionem et reverentiam tuam, quantumve reipublice christiane de victoria adversus infideles per carissimos filios nostros Regem et Reginam Hispaniarum illustres potita gratulabaris plane significasti et gratias propterea deo omnipotenti habebas. Intelleximus etiam summa cum animi jucunditate optimam mentem ac sententiam tuam in expeditionem adversus Ihu. Xri. fidei rebelles undique parandam et quantum ad hujusmodi salutaria cepta una cum filio tuo exercitus offerebas ad prophanata templa expianda et oppressos populos in Xri. libertatem vendicandos, de quibus omnibus vix exprimi potest quantam cepimus animo voluptatem egimusque gratias, ut par erat, omnipotenti deo quod Maiestatis tue menti tantum ardorem atque fervorem fidei inspiraverit, et qui tantopere animo et desiderio nostro in fidei christiane observantia et incremento correspondeas ac de Christianorum prosperitate letaris. Nichil est enim quod magis cupiamus dies noctesque frequentius mente volvamus quam meditari et aliquod consilium invenire quo nostre fidei consulamus, semperque invigilamus et supra vires enitimur ita principes hos christianos tenere paratos ut de Constantinopolitan. et Ierlimitan. aliisque patriarchalibus sedibus recuperandis spes certa capiatur ; sed nec defuit voto nostro et bonis semper omnibus consiliis adversarius antiquus hostis qui aliqua discordiarum semina inter eos sereret quos nichilominus speramus nos fore Christi auxilio facile composituros, omnemque conatum adversus hostes sancte fidei convertemus de quibus non veremur crucis auxilium preferentes certam victoriam reportaturos. Ad quam rem etsi semper noster animus fuit accensus, nunc magna cum alacritate festinat quando quidem de tanta tua promptitudine et religione pro Christi gloria certi sumus. Te igitur quantum possumus hortamur et in domino oramus quod in isto tuo laudabili consilio perstes tuosque subditos omnes horteris ac mandes ut mentem tuam in tam sancto proposito sequantur ac pareant. Et quoniam omnibus Christifidelibus expedit pro necessitate salutis eterne in fide et obedientia cum sancta Romana ecclesia convenire ubi caput et sedem Christus et divus apostolus Petrus ipsius vicarius universo orbi christiano reliquerunt, gaudemus summopere Maiestatem tuam ad veram orthodoxe fidei agnitionem incedere et que ad ipsius fidei rectam observantiam pertinent a nobis et hac sanctissima

apostolica sede universe christianitatis capite expostulare. Cum igitur per eumdem Nilum oratorem tuum nobis supplicari feceris ut ad Maiestatem tuam diffinitionem fidei in Concilio florentino firmatam in quo sub felicis recordationis Eugenio pp. IIII. predecessore nostro Universa ecclesia tam latina quam greca convenit, mitteremus, ut tu et dominia tua idem sentiendo eternam gloriam et temporalem hic victoriam contra hostes fidei a deo merearis, cum sine recta fide placere deo sit impossibile, nunc dictam diffinitionem concilii literis nostris sub plumbo tibi mittimus, hortantes devotionem tuam quod illam mandes per universas provincias tuas publicari et observari. Et sicut in Christo vero dei filio omnes ita in ejus preceptis et institutis per suum vicarium et inde ceteros successores nobis promulgatis uno cultu conveniamus confidentes si ita feceritis nulla nobis adversantia tela inimicorum posse nocere, cum fide Regna vincantur. Habentesque Serenitati tue gratias innumeras de suis oblationibus quas admisimus libenter eisque cum occasio aderit utemur sicuti et dicto Nilo latius diximus qui de ceteris que nobis exposuit verbo respondimus. Datum Rome apud sanctumpetrum anno incarnationis dominice Millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo sexto Tertio Non. Junii Pont. nri anno quarto.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 873.

DOCUMENT 100.

Bull " Inter Cetera divine ", of May 4th 1493, ordering holy faith to be taught in America, and drawing the line of demarcation between the Spanish and the Portuguese discoveries ; with notes giving the variant readings of the same, issued the day previous.

Alexander etc. Carissimo in Christo filio Fernandino (The Vatican record of the bull of May 3d reads : " Fernando ") regi et carissime in Christo filie Helisabeth regine Castelli, Legionis, Arigonum, Sicilie (" Sicilie " is missing) et Granate illustribus Salutem etc. Inter cetera divine majestati beneplacita opera et cordis vestri (" nostri " : the right word) desiderabilia, illud profecto potissimum existit, ut fides catholica et chris-

tiana lex (" religio ") nostris presertim temporibus exaltetur ac (" et ") ubilibet amplietur et dilatetur animarumque salus procuretur ac barbare nationes deprimantur et ad fidem ipsam deducantur (" reducantur "). Unde cum ad hanc sanctam (" sacram ") petri sedem divina favente clementia, meritis licet imparibus evocati fuerimus agnoscentes (" cognoscentes ") vos tanquam veros Catholicos Reges et principes quales semper fuisse novimus et a vobis preclare gesta toti pene iam orbi notissima demonstrant, nedum id exoptari sed omni conatu studio et diligentia nullis laboribus nullis impensis nullisque parcendo periculis, etiam proprium sanguinem effundendo efficere, ac omnem animum vestrum omnesque conatus ad hoc iam dudum dedicasse, quemadmodum recuperatio Regni Granate a tirannide Saracenorum hodiernis temporibus per vos cum tanti divine numinis gloria facta testatur, digne duximus non immerito ut debemus, illa vobis etiam sponte et favorabiliter concedere per que hujusmodi sanctum et laudabile ac immortali deo acceptum propositum in dies ferventiori animo ad ipsius dei honorem et imperii christiani propagationem prosequi valeatis.

Sane accepimus quod vos qui dudum vobis (" animo " is added) proposueratis aliquas insulas et terras firmas (" terras et insulas ") remotas et incognitas ac per alios hactenus non repertas querere et invenire, ut illarum incolas et habitatores ad colendum Redemptorem nostrum et fidem catholicam profitendum reduceretis, hactenus in expugnatione et recuperatione ipsius regni Granate plurimum occupati huiusmodi sanctum et laudabile propositum vestrum ad optatum finem perducere nequivistis, sed tandem sicut dno. placuit, regno predicto recuperato, volentes desiderium adimplere vestrum (" vestrum adimplere "), dilectum filium Cristoforum Colon, virum utique dignum et plurimum commendandum ac tanto negotio aptum (Missing, from the word " virum "), cum navigiis et hominibus ad similia instructis non sine maximis laboribus et periculis ac expensis destinastis ut terras firmas et insulas (" firmas et insulas " are missing) remotas et incognitas hujusmodi per mare ubi hactenus navigatum non fuerat diligenter inquireret ("inquirerent "), qui tandem divino auxilio facta extrema diligentia (" per partes occidentales ut dicitur versus Indos " here inserted), in mari Oceano navigantes certas insulas remotis-

simas et etiam terras firmas que per alios hactenus reperte non fuerant invenerunt, in quibus quamplurime gentes pacifice viventes et ut asserunt nude (" asseritur nudi ") incedentes nec carnibus vescentes inhabitant, et ut prefati nuntii vestri possunt opinari, gentes ipse in insulis et terris predictis habitantes credunt unum deum creatorem in celis esse ac ad fidem catholicam amplexandum et bonis moribus imbuendum satis apti videntur spesque habetur quod si audierint nomen Salvatoris dni. nri. Jesu Christi in terris et insulis predictis facile iuduceantur (" induceretur "). Ac prefatus Cristoforus in una ex principalibus insulis predictis iam unam turrim satis munitam, in qua certos christianos qui secum fuerunt (" iverant ") in custodiam et ut alias insulas et terras (" firmas " is missing) remotas et incognitas inquirerent posuit, construi et edificari fecit. In quibusdam (" quibus quidem ") insulis et terris iam repertis aurum aromatha et alie quam plurime res pretiose diversi generis et diverse qualitatis reperiuntur.

Unde omnibus diligenter et presertim fidei catholice exaltatione et dilatatione, prout decet catholicos reges et principes, consideratis, more progenitorum vestrorum clare memorie regum, terras firmas (" firmas " is missing) et insulas predictas illarumque incolas et habitatores vobis divina favente clementia subiicere et ad fidem catholicam reducere proposuistis (" proposuistis " is given by Navarrete, but missing in the Vatican record). Nos igitur huiusmodi vestrum sanctum et laudabile propositum in dno. commendantes ac cupientes ut illud ad debitum finem ducatur (" perducatur ") et ipsum nomen salvatoris nostri in partibus illis inducatur, hortamur vos plurimum in domino et per sacri lavacri susceptionem qua mandatis apostolicis obligati estis et viscera misericordie dni. nri. Jesu Christi actente requirimus ut cum expeditionem hujusmodi omnino prosequi et assumere prona mente orthodoxe fidei zelo intendatis, populos in huiusmodi insulis et terris (" et terris " are missing) agentes (" degentes ") ad christianam religionem (" professionem ") suscipiendam inducere velitis et debeatis nec pericula nec labores ullo unquam tempore vos deterreant, firma spe fiduciaque conceptis quod deus omnipotens conatus vestros feliciter prosequetur.

Et ut tanti negotii provinciam amplioris (" apostolice ") gratie largitate donati liberius et audatius assumatis, Motu

proprio, non ad vestram vel alterius pro vobis super hoc nobis oblate petitionis instantiam, sed de nostra mera liberalitate et ex certa scientia ac de apostolice potestatis plenitudine omnes (Here commences a quite different reading, down the words : " auctoritate omnipotentis dei ", as follows : " et singulas terras et insulas predictas sic incognitas et hactenus per nuntios vestros repertas et reperiendas imposterum que sub dominio actuali temporali aliquorum dominorum christianorum constitute non sint ") insulas et terras firmas inventas et inveniendas detectas et detegendas versus occidentem et meridiem, fabricando et construendo unam lineam a polo arctico scilicet septentrione ad polum antarcticum scilicet meridiem sive terre firme et insule invente et inveniende sint versus Indiam aut versus aliam quamcumque partem ; que linea distet a qualibet insularum que vulgariter nuncupantur de los Azores et Cabo Verde centum leucis versus occidentem et meridiem per alium regem aut principem christianum non fuerint actualiter possesse usque ad diem nativitatis dni. nri. Jesu Christi preteritum, in quo incipit annus presens mccccIxxxx tertius, quando fuerunt per nuntios et capitaneos vestros invente alique predictarum insularum auctoritate omnipotentis dei nobis in beato petro concessa ac vicariatus Jesu Christi qua fungimur in terris, cum omnibus illarum dominiis civitatibus castris locis et villis juribus (" juribusque) et iuridictionibus ac pertinentiis universis vobis heredibusque et successoribus vestris Castelle et Legionis regibus in perpetuum (" auctoritate apostolica " is inserted) tenore presentium donamus concedimus et assignamus, vosque et heredes ac successores prefatos (" de illis investimus " is added) illarum ("illarumque ") dominos cum plena libera et omnimoda potestate auctoritate et iurisdictione facimus constituimus et deputamus. Decernentes nichilominus per huiusmodi donationem concessionem et assignationem (" et investituram " is added) nostram nulli christiano principi qui actualiter prefatas insulas aut terras firmas possident usque ad prefatum diem nativitatis dni. nri. Jesu Christi (This clause, from the words : " qui actualiter " is missing) jus quesitum sublatum intelligi posse aut auferri debere.

Et insuper mandamus vobis in virtute sancte obedientie ut sicut (" et ", for " etiam ", is here added) pollicemini et non dubitamus pro vestra maxima devotione et regia magnanimitate

vos esse facturos, ad terras firmas (" firmas " is missing) et insulas predictas viros probos et deum timentes doctos peritos et expertos ad instruendum incolas et habitatores prefatos in fide catholica et bonis moribus inbuendum destinare debeatis omnem debitam diligentiam (" in premissis " is added) adhibentes ; ac quibuscumque personis (" etiam " is added) cujuscumque dignitatis etiam imperialis et regalis (" etiam imperialis et regalis " are missing) status gradus ordinis et conditionis sub excommunicationis late sententie pena quam eo ipso si contra fecerint incurrant, districtius inhibentes ne ad insulas et terras (Continues down to the words " absque vestra " as follows : " predictas postquam per vestros nuntios seu ad id missos invente et reperte fuerint pro mercedibus habendis vel quavis alia de causa accedere presumant ") firmas inventas et inveniendas detectas et detegendas versus occidentem et meridiem fabricando et construendo lineam a polo arctico ad polum antarcticum, sive terre firme et insule invente et inveniende sint versus Indiam aut versus aliam quamcumque partem, que linea distet a qualibet insularum que vulgariter nuncupantur de los Azores et Cabo Verde centum leucis versus occidentem et meridiem ut prefatur, absque vestra ac heredum et successorum vestrorum predictorum licentia speciali (The following paragraph is added : " Et quia etiam nonnulli Portugalie Reges in partibus africe Guinee et Minere auri ac alias insulas similiter etiam ex concessione apostolica eis facta receperunt et acquisiverunt et per sedem apostolicam eis diversa privilegia gratie libertates etiam immunitates exemptiones et indulta concessa fuerunt, Nos vobis ac heredibus et successoribus vestris predictis ut in insulis et terris per vos repertis et reperiendis huiusmodi omnibus et singulis gratiis privilegiis exemptionibus libertatibus facultatibus immunitatibus et indultis huiusmodi quorum omnium tenores ac si de verbo ad verbum presentibus insererentur habere volumus pro sufficienter expressis et insertis, ut potiri et gaudere libere ac licite possitis ac debeatis in omnibus et per omnia perinde ac si vobis ac heredibus et successoribus predictis specialiter concesse fuissent motu auctoritate scientia et apostolice potestatis plenitudine similibus de specialis dono gratie indulgemus, illaque in omnibus et per omnia ad vos heredes ac successores vestros predictos extendimus pariter et ampliamus ").

Non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis (" necnon omnibus illis que in literis desuper editis concessa sunt non obstantibus " are inserted) ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque ; in illo a quo imperia et dominationes ac bona cuncta procedunt confidentes quod dirigente dno. actus vestros si huiusmodi sanctum et laudabile propositum (" negotium ") prosequimini, brevi tempore cum felicitate et gloria totius populi christiani vestri labores et conatus exitum felicissimum consequentur.

Verum quia difficile foret presentes literas ad singula queque loca in quibus expediens fuerit deferre, volumus ac motu et scientia similibus decernimus quod illarum transsumptis manu publici notarii inde rogati subscriptis et sigillo alicuius persone in ecclesiastica dignitate constitute seu curie ecclesiastice munitis ea prorsus fides in iuditio et extra ac alias ubilibet adhibeatur que presentibus adhiberetur si essent exhibite et ostense.

Nulli ergo etc. nre. emendationis, (" emendationis " is missing) ortationis (" exhortationis "), requisitionis, donationis, concessionis, assignationis (" investiture facte " is added), constitutionis, deputationis, decreti (" decreti " is here missing, mandati inbibitionis (" indulti, extensionis, ampliationis " is added), voluntatis (" et decreti " is added here), infringere etc. Si quis etc. Datum Rome apud sanctum petrum Anno etc. Mccccl xxxx° tertio quarto (" quinto ".) Non. Maii pont^{s} nri. Anno primo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. Bullar., An. I. t. VI. Regest. 777, f° 192.

The same bull of " quinto Non. Maii " is recorded Ibid., Alex. VI. Bullar, An. I, t. IV, Regest. 775, f° 42vo. Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, t. II, p. 29, published it as Copia antiqua en al Real Archivo de Simancas.

DOCUMENT 101^{a}.

Pope Alexander VI grants faculties to the first American missionaries.

Alexander etc. Dilecto filio Bernardo Boil fratri ordinis Minorum : Vicario dicti ordinis in hispaniarum Regnis salutem

etc. Piis fidelium presertim Catholicorum Regum et principum votis que religionis propagationem divinique cultus augmentum et fidei catholice exaltationem ac animarum salutem respiciunt libenter annuimus eaque quantum cum deo possumus favoribus prosequimur oportunis. Cum itaque sicut carissimus in christo filius noster ferdinandus Rex et carissima in christo filia nostra Elizabeth Regina Castelle et Legionis Aragonum et Granate illustres nobis nuper exponi fecerunt, ipsi fervore devotionis accensi desiderantes quod fides catholica in terris et insulis per eos de novo versus partes occidentales (The Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia, t. XIX, p. 187, mistakes by giving " orientales " and consequently adding an erroneous footnote) et mare oceanum repertis, ante aliis incognitis et aliis imposterum reperiendis floreat et exaltetur, decreverunt te ad partes illas destinare ut inibi per te et alios presbiteros seculares vel religiosos ad id ydoneos per te deputandos verbum dei predicetis et seminetis (Not " predicent et seminent ", as in Boletin, ubi supra) ac incolas et habitatores insularum et terrarum predictarum qui fidei nostre (Not " nunc ", as in Boletin) cognitionem non habent ad fidem ipsam (Not " nostram ") ac religionem christianam reducatis et in mandatis domini eos ambulare doceatis et instruatis. Nos sperantes quod ea que tibi duxerimus committenda fideliter et diligenter exequeris, tibi qui presbiter es ad insulas et partes predictas etiam cum aliquibus sotiis tui vel alterius ordinis per te aut eosdem Regem et Reginam eligendis Superiorum tuorum (Not " Vestrorum ") vel cuiusvis alterius super hoc licentia minime requisita, accedendi et inibi quandiu volueris commorandi ac per te vel alium seu alios ad id ydoneos presbiteros seculares vel religiosos ordinum quorumcumque verbum dei predicandi et seminandi dictosque incolas ad fidem catholicam reducendi eosque baptizandi et in fide nostra instruendi ac cetera sacramenta quotiens opus fuerit ipsis ministrandi ipsosque et eorum quemlibet (Not " quemcumque ") per te vel alium seu alios presbiteros (Not " Presbiterorum ") seculares vel religiosos in eorum confessionibus etiam quotiens opus fuerit audiendi illisque diligenter auditis pro commissis per eos criminibus excessibus et delictis etiam si talia fuerint propter que Sedes apostolica quovis modo fuerit consulenda de absolutionis debito providendi eisque (Not " ipsisque ") peniten-

tiam salutarem iniungendi nec non vota quecumque per eos pro tempore emissa, jerusolomitano liminum apostolorum petri et pauli ac sancti jacobi in compostella et Religionis votis duntaxat exceptis, in alia pietatis opera commutandi, ac quecumque ecclesias capellas monasteria domos ordinum quorumcumque etiam mendicantium tam virorum quam mulierum et loca pia cum campanilibus campanis claustris dormitoriis refectoriis ortis ortalitiis et aliis necessariis officinis sine alicuius preiudicio erigendi construendi et edificandi ac ordinum mendicantium professoribus domos quas pro eis construxeris et edificaveris recipiendi et perpetuo (Not " postremo ") inhabitandi licentiam concedendi dictasque ecclesias benedicendi et quotiens illas earumque cimiteria per effusionem sanguinis vel seminis vel alias violari contigerit aqua prius per aliquem catholicum antistitem, ut moris est, benedicta reconciliandi, et etiam necessitatis tempore, super quo conscientias vestras oneramus carnibus et aliis cibis tibi et sociis tuis predictis iuxta regularia dictorum ordinum instituta prohibitis (Not " exhibitis ") libere et licite vescendi, omniaque alia et singula in premissis et circa ea necessaria et quomodolibet oportuna faciendi gerendi exequendi et disponendi (Not " dispensandi ") plenam liberam et omnimodam auctoritate apostolica et ex certa scientia tenore presentium facultatem licentiam potestatem et auctoritatem concedimus et elargimur. Et insuper ut Christifideles eo libentius devotionis causa ad dictas terras et insulas confluant quo suarum se speraverint salutem animarum adepturos, omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus Christifidelibus predictis qui ad predictas terras et insulas (" et insulas " is missing in the Boletin) se personaliter, de mandato tamen et voluntate Regis et Regine predictorum, contulerint, ut ipsi et quilibet eorum confessorem ydoneum secularem vel regularem eligere possint qui eos et eorum quemlibet modo premisso ab eorum criminibus peccatis (Not " patratis ") et delictis etiam dicte Sedi reservatis absolvat ac eorum vota etiam commutet (Not " commutare ") necnon omnium peccatorum suorum de quibus corde contriti et ore confessi fuerint indulgentiam et remissionem ipsis in sinceritate fidei unitate Sancte Romane Ecclesie ac obedientia et devotione nostra et successorum nostrorum Romanorum Pontificum canonice intrantium persistentibus semel in vita et semel in mortis articulo auctoritate

prefata concedere valeat, necnon Monasteriis locis et Domibus erigendis et edificandis ac Monachis et fratribus in illis pro tempore degentibus, ut omnibus et singulis gratiis privilegiis libertatibus exemptionibus immunitatibus indulgentiis et indultis aliis Monasteriis locis domibus monachis et fratribus ordinum, quorum illa et illi fuerint, in genere concessis et concedendis imposterum uti potiri et gaudere libere et licite valeant auctoritate prefata de specialis dono gratie indulgemus. Non obstantibus fe. re. (Not " me. ") Bonifacii pp. VIII predecessoris nostri, ne quivis ordinum mendicantium fratres nova loca recipere presumant absque dicte sedis licentia speciali de prohibitione huiusmodi plenam et expressam mentionem faciente (This phrase, from " de prohibitione ", is missing in Boletin) et aliis apostolicis constitutionibus statutis quoque et consuetudinibus dictorum ordinum juramento confirmatione apostolica aut quavis firmitate alia roboratis, quamquam tu de personis in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutis, quibus litere apostolice dirigi deberent non existas, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Verum quia difficile foret presentes literas ad singula queque loca in quibus expediens fuerit deferre volumus et dicta auctoritate decernimus quod (Not " quatenus ") illarum transumptis manu publici notarii inde rogati subscriptis et sigillo alicuius (Not " alterius ") persone ecclesiastice in dignitate constitute sive curie ecclesiastice (This phrase, from the words: " in dignitate ", is missing in Boletin) munitis ea prorsus fides indubia in judicio et extra (Not " etc. ") ac alias ubilibet adhibeatur, que presentibus adhiberetur si essent exhibite vel ostense. Nulli etc. nostre concessionis, elargitionis indulti voluntatis et decreti infringere etc. Si quis etc. Datum Rome apud sanctum petrum Anno etc. Mccccl xxxxlll°, septimo Kl. Julii pont. nri. Anno primo.

Gratis de mandato S^mi^ d. n. pp. pro Registr. (Not " pro Rmo. ") A. de Mucciarellis (Not " de Munarellis ").

Collat. Phy. de ponte curvo. — H. Casanova (Not " de Canova ").

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar., An. I, t. VI, Regest. 777, f° 122. — Published by Fidel Fita in Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia, t. XIX, p. 187.

DOCUMENT 101[b].

Alexander VI grants tithes to the kings of Spain and provides for the support of priests and bishops in the West Indies.

Alexander episcopus, servus servorum Dei, charissimo in Christo filio Ferdinando Regi, et charissime in Christo filie Helisabeth Regine Hispaniarum catholicis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Eximie devotionis sinceritas et integra fides, quibus Nos et Romanam reveremini Ecclesiam, non indigne merentur ut votis vestris, illis presertim (annuamus) per que circa catholice fidei exaltationem ac infidelium et barbararum nationum depressionem libentius et promptius intendere valeatis. Sane pro parte vestra nobis nuper exhibita petitio continebat quod vos, pia ducti devotione pro fidei catholice exaltatione, sumopere desideratis, prout jam a certo tempore citra non sine magna impensa vestra ac laboribus facere cepistis et in dies magis facere non cessatis, insulas et partes indiarum acquirere et recuperare, ut in illis, quacumque damnata secta abjecta, colatur et veneretur Altissimus; et quia pro recuperatione insularum et partium predictarum vobis necesse erit graves subire impensas et grandia pericula perferre, expedit ut pro conservatione et manutentione dictarum insularum, postquam per vos acquisite et recuperate fuerint, ac perferendis impensis ad conservationem et manutentionem predictas necessariis, decimas insularum predictarum ab illarum incolis et habitatoribus pro tempore existentibus exigere et levare possitis; quare, pro parte vestra nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum ut, in premissis, vobis statuique vestro oportune providere de benignitate apostolica dignaremur. Nos igitur, qui ejusdem fidei exaltationem et augmentum, nostris potissimum temporibus supremis desideramus affectibus, pium et laudabile propositum vestrum plurimum in Domino commendantes, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, vobis et successoribus vestris pro tempore existentibus ut in insulis predictis ab illarum incolis et habitatoribus etiam pro tempore existentibus, postquam ille acquisite et recuperate fuerint ut prefertur, assignata prius realiter et cum effectu, juxta ordinationem tunc diocesanorum locorum, quorum conscientias super hoc oneramus,

ecclesiis in dictis insulis erigendis per vos et successores vestros prefatos de vestris et eorum bonis dote sufficiente, ex qua illis presidentes earumque rectores se comode sustentare et onera dictis ecclesiis pro tempore incumbentia, perferre, ac cultum divinum ad laudem Omnipotentis Dei debite exercere, juraque episcopalia persolvere possint, decimam hujusmodi percipere et levare libere ac licite valeatis auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium de specialis dono gratie indulgemus, non obstantibus Lateranensis concilii constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ceterisque contrariis quibuscunque. Nulli ergo... Si quis autem... Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum anno Incarnationis dominice Millesimo quingentesimo primo, sextodecimo Kl. decembris, Pont. nri. anno decimo.

Hernáez, Colección de bulas, t. I, p. 20 ; Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia, t. XX, p. 261.

DOCUMENT 102.

Pope Alexander VI confirms to the king of Portugal the territory which he may acquire from the Infidels.

Alexander etc. Carissimo in Christo filio Emanueli Portugalie et Algarbiorum Regi Ill[i] Salut. etc. Ineffabilis et Summi patris providentia super Reges et regna testante propheta licet immeriti constituti, offitii nostri debitum exequi tunc nos arbitramur cum ad ea nostros diffundimus jugiter cogitatus per que orthodoxe fidei propagatio nostre cure celitus commissa ac christiane religionis augmentum et animarum salus procurari, ac Barbarice nationes deprimi et ad fidem ipsam successu temporis converti possint. Sane pro parte tua nobis nuper per Venerabilem fratrem nostrum Geor. Ep[m] Albanen. S. R. E. Cardinalem Ulixbonen. nuncupatum expositum fuit quod tu qui more tuorum progenitorum intendis Infidelium expugnationi vacare, desideras, si forsan contingeret aliqua Civitates castra terras et loca seu dominia infidelium ditioni tue subjici seu tributum solvere et te in eorum dominum cognoscere velle licite civitates castra loca terras et dominia hujusmodi recipere et retinere posse. Quare pro parte tua nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum ut tibi in premissis oportune providere de benignitate apostolica dignaremur. Nos igitur pium et laudabile tuum desiderium

hujusmodi plurimum in dno. commendantes ac sperantes quod pro tua regia magnanimitate ad honorem dei et christiani nominis propagationem Infidelium eorundem expugnationi et ad catholicam fidem conversioni pro viribus intendere curabis, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, Te ac heredes et successores tuos quos vestigia tua imitaturos et Sedi apostolice devotissimos futuros non dubitamus, Auctoritate omnipotentis dei nobis in beato petro concessa, de civitatibus castris locis terris et dominiis predictis que tibi ditionique tue ut prefertur subjici, et que te in dominum cognoscere seu tributum solvere velle contigerit, sine alicujus christiani principis cui jus in illis sit quesitum prejudicio, auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium investimus, illaque tibi heredibusque et successoribus tuis prefatis auctoritate vicariatus ipsius domini nostri Jesu Christi qua fungimur in terris, per te heredesque et successores prefatos in perpetuum tenenda regenda et gubernanda ac de illis libere dominandum prout alia regna terras et dominia tua tenes, regis et gubernas, libere donamus concedimus et assignamus ac illa conquirendi plenam et liberam facultatem elargimur, districtius inhibentes quibuscumque regibus principibus et dominis temporalibus quibus jus quesitum non foret, ut prefertur, ne se contra sic se tibi subjicere volentes quovis modo opponere nec tibi propterea bellum movere seu alias molestare presumant. Majestatem vero tuam Carissime fili necnon heredes et successores prefactos per viscera misericordie dni. nri. Jesu Christi et per sacri lavacri susceptionem requirimus et plurimum hortamur in dno. et si aliqua ex terris locis et dominiis hujusmodi dno. concedente acquisiveritis, omni studio et diligentia prout Catholicos Reges et principes decet, efficere studeatis quod inibi nomen ipsius Salvatoris nostri colatur et fides catholica exaltetur et amplietur, et exinde preter eterne retributionis premium, nostram et dicte sedis benedictionem et gratiam uberius consequi merearis. Nulli ergo etc. nostre investitionis donationis concessionis assignationis elargitionis inhibitionis requisitionis et exhortationis infringere etc. Si quis etc. Datum Rome apud Sanctumpetrum Anno etc. Millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo septimo Kls. Junii Pontificatus nri. Anno quinto.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Secret. An. I ad X. Lib. VII, Regest. 873, f° 462.

DOCUMENT 103.

Pope Alexander VI charges his nuncio in England with the reform of all churches and monasteries in that country.

Alexander etc. Dilecto filio Magistro Hadriano Castellen. clerico Cornetano Notario et Nuntio nro. ac in Regno Anglie fructuum et proventuum Camere apostolice debitorum Collectori Salt. Constituti juxta verbum prophete licet insufficientibus meritis super Gentes et Regna officii nostri debitum decenter exequimur, cum evellimus evellenda et plantanda plantamus, recta regimus et dirigimus indirecta. Accepimus siquidem non absque gravi animi displicentia in Regno Anglie et locis aliis in quibus fructuum et proventuum Camere apostolice debitorum collector deputatus existis quamplura ecclesias monasteria prioratus et alia pia loca secularia et utriusque sexus diversorum ordinum regularia exempta, et eorum membra in spiritualibus et temporalibus multipliciter deformata eorumque prelatos et rectores de negligentia executionis suorum officiorum et aliis excessibus notatos esse et merito corrigendos, que absque debita appositione remedii non debent sub dissimulatione transire. Nos igitur ad ecclesiarum monasteriorum prioratuum piorum locorum et membrorum predictorum reformationem et eorumdem prelatorum rectorum ac personarum correctionem et reductionem ad consilia meliora prnis. et sollicitis studiis intendere cupientes, ac de tuis prudentia et circumspectione in dno. plenam spem gerentes pariter et sperantes quod ea que tibi committenda duxerimus exacta diligentia exequeris, discretioni tue per apostolica scripta committimus et mandamus quatenus ad ecclesias monasteria prioratus et loca hujusmodi in dicto Regno consistentia eorumque membra ut prefertur exempta personaliter quotiens tibi oportunum videbitur accedens et ad solum deum ac salutem animarum et commoda hujusmodi ecclesiarum monasteriorum prioratuum locorum et membrorum habendo respectum ea in spiritualibus et temporalibus tam in capite quam in membris juxta decreta sacrorum canonum et eorumdem regularia instituta, auctoritate nostra visites, reformes et emendes. Nos enim tibi ecclesias monasteria prioratus et loca predicta eorumque membra necnon prelatos conventus et rectores singularesque quascumque personas cuius-

cumque dignitatis status gradus ordinis vel conditionis existant in illis degentes seu presidentes eisdem ut premittitur visitandi et que in eisdem spiritualibus et temporalibus correctionis modificationis declarationis et reformationis officio noveris indigere iuxta decreta et instituta predicta corrigendi moderandi declarandi reformandi ordinandi et statuendi ac delinquentes et inobedientes atque rebelles iuxta suorum excessuum et delictorum qualitatem mulctandi castigandi et puniendi ipsosque privandi et ad alia loca seu membra transferendi et in eorum loco alios surrogandi, necnon statuta et consuetudines ecclesiarum ac monasteriorum prioratuum et locorum ac membrorum predictorum immutandi corrigendi supplendi et innovandi ac de novo alia si expediat statuendi edendi et ordinandi, Contradictores quoslibet et rebelles per censuram ecclesiasticam et alia juris remedia appellatione postposita compescendi et super hiis quotiens opus fuerit auxilium brachii secularis invocandi, omniaque et singula alia circa visitationem correctionem et reformationem hujusmodi necessaria et oportuna tam in spiritualibus quam temporaribus agendi mandandi et ordinandi statuendi destituendi et exequendi que Visitatores de jure vel consuetudine aut alias facere ordinare mandare statuere et exequi consueverunt et que tibi ad reformationem et correctionem hujusmodi visa fuerint in dno. salubriter expedire, plenam et liberam auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium concedimus facultatem. Non obstantibus... Nos enim sentencias et penas quas rite tuleris in rebelles ratas et gratas habebimus et faciemus auctore dno. usque ad satisfactionem condignam inviolabiliter observari. Datum Rome apud Sanctumpetrum Anno etc. Mccccl xxxx tertio Non. Junii Pont. nri. Anno primo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I, II, III, Lib. III. Reg. 869, f° 77.

DOCUMENT 104.

Pope Alexander VI restricts the admission of penitentiaries.

Alexander pp. VI. Dilecti filii Salutem et apostolicam ben. Actendentes quod vos et pro tempore deputati penitentiarii qui vice nostra animarum judices estis et ad quos Christifideles

ex universis mundi partibus pro eorum conscientiis purgandis et suis peccatis confitendis, ac penitenciis humiliter recipiendis sine intermissione confluunt, viri electi, vita et moribus comprobati et literarum excellentes esse debetis, Et propterea cupientes ut vestrum collegium de cetero talibus viris floreat, Motu proprio et ex certa nostra scientia auctoritate apostolica presentium tenore statuimus et ordinamus ut deinceps perpetuis futuris temporibus nullus ad vestrum collegium vel examen privatum consuetum, etiam pretextu quorumvis mandatorum vel literarum, etiam quascumque sententias, censuras et penas in se continentium, qui a nobis vel sede apostolica sub quibusvis formis et expressionibus verborum, etiam motu et scientia similibus et cum quibusvis etiam presentium derogatoriis aliisque fortioribus et efficacioribus et insolitis clausulis emanarent, quomodolibet admitti possit vel debeat, nisi prius super punctis sibi per vos assignandis publice et sufficienter responderit juxta statuti vestri collegii super hoc editi tenorem et formam. Nullus etiam in substitutum penitentiarium vel quecumque alium coadjutorem tempore concursus vel quocumque alio tempore, etiam pretextu quorumcumque mandatorum et literarum recipiatur vel admittatur, nisi prestatis prius per eum juramentis consuetis et prout et quemadmodum in vestris ordinationibus habetur, super vita et moribus examinatus et idoneus repertus fuerit, et tunc dum talium opera, et non alias, opus erit ; absque tamen majoris penitentiarii prejudicio. Decernentes irritum et inane si secus super his a quoquam etiam per nos, quavis auctoritate, scienter vel ignoranter contigierit attemptari. Non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ac quibusvis literis et mandatis, quascumque sententias et penas in se continentibus, quas vos ligare minime volumus, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Datum Rome apud sanctum petrum sub annulo piscatoris die XXVI Augusti McccclxxxxVII Pont. nri. Anno Sexto

Ja. Volaterranus

Dilectis filiis minoribus Penitentiariis
Basilice principis apostolorum de Urbe.
Bibl. Vatic. Lat. Cod. 3883, f° 45.

DOCUMENT 105.

Faculties granted to cardinal George d'Amboise to make reforms in France.

Alexander Epus. Servus servorum Dei, Dilecto filio Georgio tit. S. Sixti pbro. Cardinali Rothomagen. in Regno francie nro. et aplice. Sedis legato Salt. et aplicam ben. Cum nos hodie te in Regno francie pro nonnullis magnis et arduis universalis ecclie. et totius rei publice christiane negotiis legatum nrum. de latere de fratrum nrorum Sancte Roman. ecclie. cardinalium consilio duxerimus constituendum, Et sicut accepimus studia generalia civitatum et locorum infra tuam legationem consistentium ac collegia in eis fundata, necnon capitula Metropolitan. Cathedralium et Collegiatar. Ecclesiarum ac Monasteriorum tam virorum quam mulierum, Ordinum quorumcumque tam etiam mendicantium quam non mendicantium Conventus et loca, tam circa illorum Statuta Constitutiones ordinationes ritus et observantias quam illorum singulares personas et alias visitatione et reformatione quamplurimum indigere noscantur, Nos de Circumspectione tua in arduis sepius comprobata plurimum confidentes eidem Circumspectioni tue in eodem Regno et limitibus legationis tue existendo, dicta legatione durante, singula studia collegia capitula conventus loca tam exempta quam non exempta ac personas hmoi. per te vel alium seu alios visitandi et illa prout tibi videbitur corrigendi necnon illorum statuta constitutiones ordinationes ritus et observantias hmoi. tam edita quam edenda, etiam iuramento confirmatione aplica. vel quacumque firmitate alia vallata, que prout rerum personarum et temporum qualitatibus debite pensatis id tibi videbitur salubriter in dno. expedire, reformandi ac illa in toto vel in parte tollendi cassandi annullandi emendandi et mutandi necnon alia salubria constitutiones et ordinationes ritus observantias et statuta de novo edendi concedendi faciendi et instituendi ceteraque circa premissa necessaria vel utilia faciendi gerendi ordinandi et disponendi ac ea penis et censuris ecclesiasticis perpetuo vallandi et observari faciendi contradictores quoque per censuram ecclesiasticam et alia juris remedia, appellatione postposita, compescendo, Nonobstantibus si studiis, collegiis

capitulis conventibus et personis prefatis exemptionibus privilegiis concessionibus et indultis per Sedem aplicam. concessis seu si eis sit a dicta sede indultum quod interdici suspendi vel excoicari non possint per literas aplicas. non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto hujusmodi mentionem plenam et liberam auctoritate aplica. tenore presentium concedimus facultatem. Dat. Rome apud sanctumpetrum Anno Incarnationis dominice Millesimo quingentesimo primo Non. Aprilis Pontificatus nri. Anno. nono.

Paris, Archives Nation. L. 327, n° 9.

DOCUMENT 106.

Pope Alexander VI orders the reformed Spanish convents to be placed under the authority of religious Orders of Strict Observance.

Alexander etc. Venerabilibus fratribus Francisco archiepo. Toletano et Didaco Epo. Salamantin. Salut etc. Ex injuncto nobis desuper apostolice servitutis officio ad ea libenter intendimus per que persone religiose presertim feminei sexus in observantia regulari degentes in illa sublatis quibusvis impedimentis possint perseverare. Cum itaque sicut carissimus in Chro. filius nr. ferdinandus rex et carissima in Chro. filia nostra helizabeth Regina Hispaniarum Catholici nobis nuper exponi fecerunt quamplura Monialium monasteria in Regnis et dominiis suis consistentia in quibus regularis observantia jandudum tepuerat, ad hujusmodi observantiam regularem auctore dno. reducta et reformata fuerint, et nisi provideatur quod monasteria ipsa sic reducta et reformata sint sub cura visitatione et obedientia superiorum dictorum ordinum observantie regularis, verosimiliter formidandum sit ne monasteria predicta, dimissa observantia, in pristinum statum relabantur, non sine religionis obprobrio et scandalo plurimorum. Nos volentes conservationi dicte observantie oportune consulere eorumdem Regis et Regine devotis in hac parte supplicationibus inclinati fraternitati vestre, de qua in his et aliis specialem in dno. fiduciam obtinemus, per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus vos vel alter vestrum monasteria predicta sic refor-

mata et reducta cure visitationi et correctioni superiorum ordinum quorum illa fuerint auctoritate nostra subjiciatis, faciatisque dictos superiores de observantia de cetero superioritate hujusmodi pacifice frui et gaudere, non permittentes eos per quoscumque desuper indebite molestari, Contradictores per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione postposita compescendo. Non obstantibus... Datum Rome apud S^m^ Petrum etc. Millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo septimo Decimo kl. novembr. P. nri. Ao Sexto.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I ad X. Lib. VII, Regest. 873, f° 473vo.

DOCUMENT 107.

Pope Alexander VI orders the reform of the universities of Spain.

Alexander etc. Venbus. fratribus Archiepiscopo Toletan. et Epo. Salamantin. Salut. etc. Inter cetera quibus nos propensius decet intendere, hoc potissimum esse dinoscitur, ut operosa diligentia singulis studiis presertim generalibus et personis in illis literis jugiter insistentibus illa adjiciamus accurate reformationis antidota per que studia et persone hujusmodi votivis auctore domino future prosperitatis successibus gratulentur. Sane pro parte carissimi in Chro. filii nostri ferdinandi Regis et carissime in Christo filie nostre helisabeth Regine Hispaniarum Catholicorum nobis nuper exhibita petitio continebat quod in hujusmodi hispaniarum ac aliis Regnis et dominiis Regi et Regine prefatis subjectis sunt Salamantin. et Vallisoleti Palentin. dioc. et nonnulle alie universitates generalium et particularium Studiorum in suis moribus et ritibus non modicum deformate, quas cupiunt Rex et Regina prefati pro universitatum studiorum hujusmodi decore et venustate reformari. Quare pro parte Regis et Regine predictorum nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum ut in premissis oportune providere de benignitate apostolica dignaremur. Nos igitur ad ea per que status deformati debite reformentur prout ex debito pastoralis officii incumbit solicite intendentes hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati Vobis et vestrum cuilibet per vos vel alium seu alios idoneum seu

idoneos quem seu quos ad id duxeritis deputandum vel deputandos, Salamantin. Vallisoleti necnon quascumque alias universitates et studia generalia et particularia illorumque supposita et personas in capite et in membris auctoritate nostra hac vice duntaxat visitandi et que reformatione indigent etiam quoad provisiones cathedrarum et officiorum studiorum eorumdem reformandi et pro studiorum suppositorum et personarum hujusmodi decore venustate et utilitate eorum statuta et ordinationes illorum corrigendi et mutandi ac alia rationabilia et honesta, sacris tamen canonibus non contraria, de novo condendi et faciendi et inviolabiliter observari faciendi et mandandi. Contradictores quoque quoslibet et rebelles per censuram ecclesiasticam et alia juris oportuna remedia, appellatione postposita, compescendi, et si opus fuerit auxilium brachii secularis invocandi omniaque alia et singula in premissis et circa ea necessaria quomodolibet et oportuna faciendi gerendi et exequendi plenam liberam auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium concedimus facultatem, super quo vestras et deputandorum conscientias oneramus. Non obstantibus... ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Datum Rome apud S^m^ Petrum etc. Anno etc. Millesimo Quadringentesimo nonagesimo septimo Kls. Augusti. Pont. nri. Anno quinto.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I ad X. Lib. VII. Regest. 873, f° 466vo.

DOCUMENT 108.

Pope Alexander VI abolishes the vow of chastity of the Knights of Christ and of de Avis.

Alexander etc. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Romani Pontificis sacri Apostolatus ministerio ordinatione divina presidentis in hoc potissimum versatur intentio ut sacrorum canonum decreta serventur et juxta illorum traditionem quantum fieri potest singula dirigantur. Occurrunt tamen sepenumero temporum necessitates et cause in quibus illorum rigorem solite benignitatis gratia cogitur moderari. Unde reprehensione careat oportet si juxta diversitates rerum personarum et negotiorum necessitate suadente tradita sibi in beato Petro potestatis

plenitudine rigorem juris apostolice mansuetudinis temperat suavitate. Sane pro parte carissimi in christo filii nostri Emanuelis Portugallie et Algarbiorum Regis illustris nobis nuper exhibita petitio continebat quod in Regnis predictis in quibus Milicie Jesu Christi et de Avis Cistercien. Ordinis pro infidelium expugnatione et depressione ad militandum contra eos ab eorum prima fundatione institute fore noscuntur, Milites dictarum Militiarum pro majori parte continencie et castitatis voto, quod in eorum professione emittunt, contempto, concubinas etiam plures et in eorum ac Preceptoriarum et Prioratuum dictarum Militiarum propriis domibus et locis non sine magno religionis obprobrio publice tenere et eis cohabitare ac etiam adulteria cum aliis mulieribus conjugatis committere non verentur, ex quo ab eorumdem Regnorum incolis et habitatoribus maximo odio habentur, dissentiones et inimicitie oriuntur, diversa scandala quotidie concitantur ac non parva milituin eorumdem imminent pericula animarum. Verum si statueretur et ordinaretur quod deinceps perpetuis futuris temporibus in dictis Miliciis profiteri volentes professionem solitam et quoad continentie votum matrimoniale prout Milites Milicie Sancti Jacobi de Spada Ordinis Sancti Augustini emittunt emittere deberent et ad eorum instar matrimonium contrahere possent, et hoc profecto incontinentie, adulteriis odiis dissensionibus inimicitiis scandalis et animarum periculis hujusmodi obviaretur ac multi nobiles Regnorum eorumdem qui Miliciis predictis adversus ipsos Infideles plurimum utiles et fructuosi essent, videntes se matrimonium contrahere posse, ad profitendum in dictis Miliciis inducerentur ac quamplures Nobiles Mulieres que cum difficultate nuptui tradi possunt cum eisdem Militibus possent matrimonio collocari quod ad maximam incolarum Regnorum eorundem consolationem cederet pariter et quietem. Quare pro parte tam prefati Emanuelis Regis qui dicte Milicie Jesu Christi in temporalibus per Sedem apostolicam administrator seu gubernator deputatus existit quam dilectorum filiorum universorum Priorum Preceptorum et Militum dictarum Jhu. Chr. et de Avis Miliciarum maxima cum instantia et sepenumero nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum ut in premissis oportune providere de benignitate apostolica dignaremur. Nos igitur qui animarum periculis ac scandalis et dissensionibus ne eveniant quantum cum deo possumus libenter obviamus, Atten-

dentes quod dno. nr. Jhs. Chrs. beato petro apostolo cujus vices meritis licet imparibus tenemus in terris nunquam tantam tribuisset potestatem ut diceret quodcumque ligaveris super terram erit ligatum et in celis et quodcumque solveris super terram erit solutum et in celis, nisi ipsum Petrum et ejus successores ea potestate aliquando uti oportere judicasset, ex premissis et certis aliis nobis expositis causis, facta etiam super hoc per Venerabilem fratrem nostrum Georgium Episcopum Albanen. Cardinalem Ulixbonen. nuncupatum de ipso Portugallie regno oriundum in sacra theologia peritissimum ac in magnis et arduis rebus longa experientia comprobatum viteque exemplaris et morum honestate decorum aliisque virtutum donis que in eo divina propagavit clementia multipliciter insignitum, asserentem se de hoc plurimum informatum esse ac ita in Regnis predictis omnino expedire, idque etiam dudum antea cum felicis recordationis Sixto IIII et Innocentio VIII Romanis Pontificibus predecessoribus nostris dum in humanis agebant conclusisse qui morte preventi ad finalem expeditionem devenire nequiverunt, nobis relatione fideli hujusmodi instantissimis supplicationibus inclinati et rationibus ac causis predictis inducti, Quod deinceps perpetuis futuris temporibus in dictis JHu. Chr. et de Avis Militiis profiteri volentes solitam et quoad continentie votum, matrimoniale prout Milites Militie Sancti Jacobi de Spada hujusmodi emittunt professionem emittere debeant et ad eorum instar matrimonium alias tamen rite contrahere et in eo postquam contractum fuerit remanere libere et licite possint auctoritate apostolica et ex certa scientia ac de apostolice potestatis plenitudine tenore presentium Statuimus pariter et ordinamus, ac cum eis super hoc dispensamus prolem ex hujusmodi matrimoniis suscipiendam legitimam nunciantes, firmis tamen in reliquis institutis dictarum Jesu Christi et de Avis Militiarum omnino remanentibus. Non Obstantibus.. Nulli ergo etc. Si quis etc. Datum Rome apud Sanctumpetrum Anno Incarnationis dominice Millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo, sexto, Duodecimo Kl. Julii Pont. nri. anno quarto.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. Ann. I ad X. Lib. VII, Regest. 873, f° 205vo.

DOCUMENT 109.

Pope Alexander VI orders the archbishop of Braga to make the visitation of his province.

Alexander etc. Venerabili fratri Georgio archiepiscopo Bracharen. Salut. etc... Sane pro parte carissimi in Christo filii nostri Emanuelis Portugallie et Algarbiorum Regis Ill. nobis nuper exhibita petitio continebat quod in dicto Regno Portugallia Ecclesie Cathedrales illarumque dioceses propter negligentiam prelatorum, tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus plurimum sint deteriorate, et nisi de visitationis remedio provideatur de totali earum desolatione et magno scandalo populorum verisimiliter est formidandum... Nos igitur... ut Ecclesias etiam Collegiatas, Monasteria et alia loca ecclesiastica etiam pia et religiosa, earumque personas, tuarum civitatum et diocesis ac totius Provincie Bracharensis et extra in quibus tibi visitationis officium de jure vel consuetudine competit, tam in capitibus quam in membris possis per aliquam seu aliquas personam seu personas ydoneam seu ydoneas quam vel quas ad id duxeris deputandam vel deputandas, quamdiu Ecclesie Bracharensi... prefueris, quotiens tempus visitationis ingruerit... visitare, aut si legitimo impedimento detentus fueris visitari facere... fraternitati tue auctoritate apostolica, tenore presentium indulgemus et mandamus. Et quia sicut accepimus suffraganei tui obedientiam et reverentiam debitas ac fidelitatis juramentum prestare ac appellationes ad Curiam tuam metropoliticam pro tempore interpositas admittere nolunt, prohibentes etiam officialibus eorum ac notariis ne illas quovis modo recipiant, nec etiam permittant quod in eorum dioc. litere apostolice, nisi prius per eos videantur, publicentur et suos effectus sortiantur ; Nos attendentes membra capiti suo obedire debere, Volumus et decernimus quod suffraganei predicti in manibus tuis vel persone per te deputande fidelitatis debite juramentum in dicta Ecc^{a}. Bracharen. personaliter prestare ac apellationes pro tempore interpositas hujusmodi admictere et per officiales suos ac notarios prefatos recipi mandare omnino teneantur, nec quovis modo de cetero presumant publicationem literarum apostolicarum sub pretextu quod ille prius eis presententur impedire, Ipsi quoque suffraganei ad Concilium provinciale per

te, vel si legatione fueris impeditus, personam a te deputandam celebrandum personaliter accedere etiam teneantur. Quo circa Venerabili fratri Episcopo Mutinen. et dilectis filiis Scolastico Columbrien. ac Cantori Ulixbonen. ecclesiarum per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus ipsi vel duo aut unus eorum per se vel alium seu alios faciant auctoritate nostra omnia et singula premissa firmiter observari, ac personam seu personas quam vel quas ad illa duxeris ut premittitur deputandam vel deputandas admitti, Contradictores quoslibet et rebelles per censuras et penas ecclesiasticas ac alia juris oportuna remedia, appellatione postposita, compescendo, invocata etiam ad hoc si opus fuerit auxilio brachii secularis, super quibus omnibus etiam persone per te nominande seu personis nominandis hujusmodi, quam seu quas ex nunc sub nostra et beati petri protectione suscipimus ac nobis et dicte sedi immediate subjicimus, plenam liberam et omnimodam harum serie concedimus facultatem, Significantes vobis quod visitata hujusmodi provincia tua commissarios nostros ad visitandam ecclesiam ac civitatem et diocesim tuas Bracharen. destinabimus. Non obstantibus etc. Et sicut etiam accepimus sunt alique ecclesie etiam cathedrales et collegiate in dicta Provincia que in suis structuris et edificiis maxima reparatione et etiam jocalibus et aliis ornamentis ecclesiasticis ad divinum cultum necessariis indigere noscuntur, volumus ac tibi vel a te deputando vel deputandis mandamus ut tantum ex fructibus reditibus et proventibus predictis dictarum ecclesiarum capiatis ut statim illas debite reparari ac jocalibus et ornamentis hujusmodi decenter muniri possint. Nulli ergo etc. Si quis etc. Datum Rome apud sanctum petrum anno etc. Millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo septimo Kls. Junii Pont. nri. Anno quinto.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI Secret. An. I and X. Lib. VII, Regest. 873, f° 459.

DOCUMENT 110.

Pope Alexander VI abolishes four convents and replaces them with a new one of regular observance.

Alexander etc. Ven^li. fri. Ep^o Egitanen. et dilecto filio Vicario Vicariatus de Thomar nullius dioc... Ad audientiam siquidem

nostram fidedignorum relatu, quod non sine mentis nostre perturbatione referimus, pervenit quod in diocesi Portugalensi sint quatuor Monasteria Monialium Sancti Benedicti seu aliorum ordinum quorum dilecte in Christo filie Abbatisse et moniales nec corrigi nec visitari possunt seu se non permittunt, diversis et illicitis viis earum visitationem et correctionem subterfugientes ac impedientes et, hac occasione sumpta, proprie professionis et honestatis muliebris que mulieribus presertim religiosis maxime convenit immemores, cum deberent deo servire potius mundo et hominibus serviunt multaque enormia committunt in animarum suarum periculum pernitiosum quoque exemplum et scandalum plurimorum ac religionis contemptum et altissimi dei offensam. Verum si in civitate Portugalensi erigeretur unum Monasterium Monialium Ordinis Sancte Clare regularis observantie et suppressis ordinibus et dignitatibus abbatissalibus et priorissalibus in singulis monasteriis predictis ac illorum abbatissis seu priorissis ab earum dignitatibus abbatissalibus seu priorissalibus amotis tam ipse quam alie moniales eorundem monasteriorum ad prefatum erigendum monasterium transferrentur, ac ipso sic erecto monasterio omnia bona mobilia et immobilia ipsorum quattuor suppressorum monasteriorum perpetuo applicarentur et appropriarentur, profecto ex hoc ne in ipsis quattuor a regularibus institutionibus dictorum ordinum aliena seu scandalosa committerentur et perpetrarentur ac etiam animarum saluti monialium earundem salubriter consuleretur, et in ipso erigendo monasterio religio propagaretur et divinus cultus augmentum susciperet et in eo seculum fugere et domino in ejus beneplacitis servire volentes postmodum recipi possent in eoque frequentius collaudaretur altissimus ad non parvam spiritualem consolationem civium dicte civitatis Portugalen. cederet. Nos igitur qui de predictis certam notitiam non habemus cupientes in premissis salubriter provideri, etiam consideratione carissimi in Christo filii nri. Emanuelis Portugalie et Algarbiorum Regis illustris nobis super hos humiliter supplicantis, discretioni vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus vos vel alter vestrum de premissis nobis relatis vos diligenter informetis, et si per informationem hujusmodi ita esse reppereritis, in civitate predicta in aliquo ad hoc honesto et ydoneo loco per dictum Emanuelem Regem eligendo unum monasterium monalium dicti

Ordinis Sancte Clare pro una Abbatissa de triennio in triennium eligenda et monialibus que inibi sub regulari observantia dicti ordinis sancte Clare, et secundum primevam aut secundum ejus institutionem, prout vobis melius videbitur, ac sub cura vicarii provincialis provincie Portugalie Ordinis fratrum Minorum regularis Observantie Altissimo famulentur et ab eodem Vicario seu deputando vel deputandis ab eis prout alia eius cure ac visitationi et correctioni subjecta monasteria et illius Abbatisse et Moniales visitari et corrigi consueverunt visitentur et corrigantur, cum ecclesia, campanilli... eadem auctoritate erigatis et instituatis. Ac postquam sic erecta et instituta fuerint, in singulis quatuor monasteriis predictis illorum ordines et dignitates Abbatiales seu priorissales penitus et omnino supprimatis et extinguatis ac illorum fructus redditus et proventus quos presentibus haberi volumus pro expressis ac bona omnia mobilia et immobilia eidem monasterio erigendo pro illius constructione edificatione ac perfectione necnon manutentione et illius Abbatisse et Monialium pro tempore existentium sustentatione perpetuo applicetis et approprietis. Itaque liceat... tam dictorum quattuor monasteriorum abbatissas seu priorissas quam omnes et singulas alias illorum Moniales ad prefatum erigendum Monasterium (transire), ut dimisso priori habitu ac etiam dignitatibus abbatissalibus seu priorissalibus per ipsas Abbatissas et priorissas in ipso erigendo monasterio sub habitu et institutionibus regularibus Altissimo famulentur. Alioquin si ordini Sancte Clare et illius institutionibus regularibus hujusmodi se conformare noluerint, ad alia monasteria vel loca ubi benivolas invenerint receptrices ordinum quorumcumque reservata tamen eis ex fructibus redditibus et proventibus dictorum supprimendorum monasteriorum congrua portione ex qua se commode valeant sustentare per Abbatissam pro tempore existentem dicti erigendi monasterii eis persolvenda et assignanda, eadem auctoritate transferatis faciatisque abbatissam et moniales erigendi monasterii hujusmodi pacifica possessione... gaudere, non permittentes eas per Abbatissas seu priorissas ac moniales dictorum quattuor aliorum monasteriorum suppressorum seu quosvis alios desuper quomodolibet molestari, Contradictores censuris ecclesiasticis et aliis juris remediis appellatione postposita compescendo.— He grants to the new convent all the privileges of the Order.

Nonobstantibus... Proviso quod ecclesie dictorum quatuor monasteriorum propterea ad prophanos usus non reducantur sed in illis Misse et alia divina officia quandoque celebrentur... Datum Rome apud sanctum petrum anno etc. Mccccc primo decimo Kl. Novembr. p. n. ao 10o.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. VIII ad X. Lib. II, Reg. 868, f° 126.

DOCUMENT 111a.

Letter of the priors of the reformed Dominican houses to cardinal Pérault.

Rme. Dne. Filii et assidui oratores, priores fratres conventuum omnium reformatorum provincie successus Theutonice ordinis predicatorum, felices et optatissimos R. V. D. optant! quippe qui post Deum inter ceteros ecclesiasticos prelatos et principes primum in R. V. D. spem suam posuerunt. Cum itaque bonis actibus adversantes, regularem vitam molestare moliuntur, Et non contenti, etiam ad ipsorum superiorum, sine quibus regularis ipsa vita subsistere nequit, destitutionem agere non negligunt, supplicant orant et iterum precantur Vram. R. D. ex innata clementia dignetur ipsis favore paterno et auxilio non deesse apud Regiam M., literas in meliori et efficaciori forma efficiendo ad Sctmum. dum. nrm. papam, Rm. dm. Cardinalem pbrm. Oliverium tt. S. Sabine, ipsius ordinis Generalem Magistrum joakim turrianum de Veneciis theologie professorem, cuilibet eorum scribendo, quatenus Apostolicum Breve, callida et surreptitia sugestione impetratum, revocetur, quo Mgr. Jacobus Sprenger, sacre theologie Mgr. et heretice pravitatis inquisitor, fertur esse ab officio provincialatus absolutus, Et quatenus sacra Regalis M. non ferat quod conventus per imperiales civitates et in aliis locis per Theutonie provinciam reformati ab alio quam ab ipso provinciali Mgr Jacobo Sprenger et suis successoribus de regulari vita pro tempore electis regantur. ne prevalere eos contingat qui, sub fraudulenta specie simulati boni, bonum religionis et ejus profectum impedire conantur. Ipsi itaque priores fratres Reformatorum conventuum satis superque satis confidunt quod R. V. D. partes religionis am-

plectabitur. Quam dignetur altissimus ad multos annos prosperos pro ecclie. sue utilitate conservare et ei quoscumque faustissimos successus elargiri.

Confer also Document 111b.

DOCUMENT 111b.

Letter of Maximilian to Joachim Turriano, Master General of the Order of Preachers.

Honorabile devote dilecte. Ad aures nostras deductum est quomodo quoddam Breve Aplicum. a Smo D. N. per nonnullorum sinistras et subdolas persuasiones impetratum fuerit vigore cujus honorabilis Religiosus devotus nobis dilectus Jacobus Sprenger sacre theologie professor ac heretice pravitatis inquisitor ab officio provincialatus in Predicatorum Ordine cui pluribus nunc annis probe integerimeque prefuit in presentiarum sit destitutus. Cum autem predictus Jacobus Sprenger pia animi religione viteque sanctimonia bene preditus esse nobis commendetur iniquumque esse ducamus ipsum citra erratum noxamve aliquam ab hujusmodi officio amplius propter invidie tabem quam iusticie zelo destitui debere, Te impense hortamur ut quantum tua interest tale Breve subreptitium revocari cures et labores ;

Conventus quoque ac monasteria Sororum de regulari vita in hereditariis nostris terris, precipue Lovanien., Buscuducen., Traiectensem et alia per imperium consistentia defendas et conserves, Adversantes vero oportunis remediis compescas ;

Ita denique et taliter ordines et disponas cum effectu ne fratres quarumcumque literarum et licentiarum occasione absque immediatorum suorum prelatorum consensu extra conventus, in villis castris parrochiis moram faciant confessiones audiant questui studeant cum offensa et scandalo multorum. Apud provincialem quoque et priores provideas ne hmoi. literarum et licentiarum per quoscumque datarum occasione quidpiam ad aures S^{mi} in ipsius Ordinis opprobrium et dedecus duci contingat. In eo rem ipsi predicatorum ordini plurimum conducibilem ac nobis gratissimam exhibebis, cum nostrum desiderium haud floccipendes, quod nos gratia et favore nro.

erga te recognoscere haud erimus immemores. Datum Wormatic XXVI Augusti, 1495.

Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv. Cod. I, I. Cptu. Missiven et cetera id genus, f° 196, 192.

The emperor's letter, " mutatis mutandis, " was sent also to cardinal Oliver Caraffa.

DOCUMENT 112.

Introduction to Pope Alexander's projected bull of reform

Constitutionum Reformationis Romanae Curiae Alexandri VI Pont. Maximi Prohemium.

In apostolice Sedis specula divina dispositione locati ut juxta pastoralis officii ministerium evellenda vellamus et plantanda plantemus, circa reformationem morum toto mentis versamur affectu. Animadvertimus enim mores christianos sensim ab illa veteri disciplina effluxisse, et perfractis sacrorum consiliorum summorumque pontificum priscis et salubribus institutis quibus libido et avaricia coerceantur, in licentiam prorupisse non amplius tolerandam, in malum enim prona est natura mortalium et apetitus non semper rationi obtemperat sed juxta apostolum mentem captivam populumque ducit in legem peccati. Semper quidem optavimus ut hujusmodi licentia novis constitutionibus restringeretur, sepe apud fe. re. Pium II, Paulum II, Sixtum IV et Innocentium VIII, nostros predecessores, dum in minoribus essemus et cardinalatus fungeremur honore operam dedimus, in primordio quoque nr. pontificatus hanc curam cunctis aliis voluimus anteponere, sed difficilimis ex adventu in Italiam carissimi in Christo filii nri. Caroli, regis francorum christianissimi cum exercitu potentissimo negotiis involuti in hunc diem differre coacti fuimus. Cepimus autem reformationem a curia nostra Romana qui ex omnibus nationibus christianae professionis coadunata bene vivendi exempla prebere aliis debet. Rem igitur tam sanctam tam necessariam longo pro tempore a nobis optatam ad effectum perducere cupientes de Collegio Venerabilium fratrum nostrorum Sancte Romane ecclesie cardinalium sex delegimus probatissimos et deum in primis timentes Oliverium videlicet Sabinen. et Georgium Albanen. EPos, Antoniottum tit.

sancte praxedis et Johannem tituli sanctorum Nerei et Achilei presbiteros, Franciscum quoque Sancti Eustachii et Raphaelem Sancti Georgii diaconos cardinales, quorum ministerio adjuti consilioque et prudentia freti, recensitis omnibus temporum superiorum Constitutionibus rerumque et temporum qualitate diligenter pensata, constitutiones et ordinationes infra scriptas, quas etiam Constitutionis vigorem obtinere decernimus auctoritate apostolica edidimus, quas jubemus inviolabiliter observari, certis hujusmodi constitutionibus predecessorum nostrorum super hiis editis in suo robore permansuris. Salvatoris autem nri. licet immeriti vices in terris gerimus qui cepit facere et docere et non minus nos instruxit exemplo quam verbo vestigiis inherentes, nos quoque legi subjecimus, licet sacrorum canonum et condende legis potestatem habeamus supremam et sublimiori dignitate ac potestate fungamur. Ceteris igitur nri. imitationem prebere volentes atque ipsam reformationem in personam propriam universalemque nostram familiam amplectentes vitam dignitati et ordini nostro congruentem agere statuimus omnesque palatii nostri domesticos familiares et alios nostre ditioni subiectos precipue in eadem curia commorantes predicta constitutione astringimus.

Bibl. Vatic. Lat., Cod. 3884, f° 73.

DOCUMENT 113.

Pope Alexander's rebuke of John de Honthem, Chancellor of Brabant.

Dilecto filio Johanni de Honthem, Cancellario Brabantie.

Dilecte fili etc. Crebris tam fisci curie nostre querelis quam aliorum ad nos pervenit testimoniis quod tu qui juris et militie gloriaris titulis tuo professionis offitio ac anime salute neglectis, scientiam quam tibi arrogas juris a te repellens, dei ministros viros ecclesiasticos ad tuum tribunal evocare, de rebus et juribus quantumvis ecclesiasticis et sacris cognoscere, privilegia personis ecclesiasticis etiam in Romana curia residentibus necnon scholaribus et magistris generalis studii Lovaniensis ab apostolica Sede concessa infringere presumis, ac ponens os in celum, Nos et Romanam curiam indies mordere et lacessere

non vereris ac in divina temere atque procaciter superbire, ecclesiasticam quoque jurisdictionem enervare et causarum illius cognitionem ad nosque devolutionem impedire et perturbare, variisque modis in catholicorum principum tuorum ignominiam temeritatibus ecclesiam dei et apostolicam sedem scandalose prosequi non erubescis, dum etiam ipsius ecclesie et ministrorum ejus bona et jura talliis et collectis secularibus gravanda et confiscanda et velut prophana distrahenda esse sustines atque decernis, in maximum tue ac tibi in ea re adherentium animarum periculum. Quod etsi divina justicia solito gravius ac celerius plectere solet in hujusmodi, nos tamen humano more mansuetudinem rigori premittentes tuoque errori hac vice paterne miserati, tibi in virtute sancte obedientie et sub interminatione divini judicii atque excois. late sententie ac perpetue infamie penis districte precipiendo mandamus quatenus mox visis presentibus processus sententias et mandata quecumque adversus ecclesiam ecclesiasticasque personas quaslibet ac super illarum rebus et bonis per te facta lata et concessa ac coram tuo tribunali instituta prorsus casses, annulles et revoces, ac prout sunt, nulla et invalida declares et ea omnia in pristinam libertatem restituas, ac ammodo te ab omnibus hujusmodi contineas de sic commissis et perpetratis delictis penitentiam agendo ; Alioquin posthabita mansuetudine intelliges propediem tibi durum esse contra stimulum calcitrare. Datum Rome ut supra (die XXII Octobris 1492. anno 1.).

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Armar. 53, no. 18, f° 149vo, collated with Bibl. Vatic. Lat., Cod. 3881, f° 304vo, and Paris, Archiv. Nation., L. 389 : Ex. Ms. Leodiens. D^{ni} de Crassiae, Anno 1492.

DOCUMENT 114.

Pope Alexander VI reproves the bishop of Liege for neglecting the defense of the Church rights.

Ep° Leodien.

Venerabilis frater Salutem etc. Audivimus et quidem invitis auribus nedum nostram et apostolice sedis jurisdictionem causarumque cognitionem et ad nos debitam devolutionem, verum etiam universa ecclesiastica jura tam circa personas et dei

ministros quam illorum res et bona in terris et dominiis Carissimi in Christo ac dilecti filiorum nostrorum Maximiliani Romanorum Regis et Philippi Archiducis ejus nati variis modis impediri et violari, facientibus id maxime magistratis in ducatu Brabantie et procurantibus quibusdam Joanne de Honthem cancellario braban. et Ludovico Primet villico lovanien. Quod cum apud nos perveniat in longinquo constitutos, te in terris hujusmodi residentem latere non potest. Unde non immerito vehementer miramur cur vel partes ecclesie non tuearis, vel si non valeas, id jamdudum Nobis non indicaveris. Videris enim tacendo hujus contagionis ac pestiferi morbi fomenta equo animo tollerare illisque assensum prebere, quibus merito pro tua erga ecclesiam et sedem predictas obligatione proque principis tui et subditorum ejus animarum salute assiduis exhortationibus obviare deberes. Quocirca tuam fraternitatem hortamur et monemus in dno, tibi nichilominus in virtute sancte obedientie ac sub suspensionis a divinis et ingressus ecclesie penis districte precipiendo mandamus quatenus in Ecclesie defensionem ammoda sic invigiles ut debitum offitii tui deprehendaris fideliter explesse et apud Nos exinde valeas commendari. Nos enim si opus sit oportuno auxilio tibi assistemus nec patiemur ut adversus Christi Ecclesiam porte inferi videantur prevalere. Scribimus de hac re ipsi Cancellario Brabantie mandantes sibi sub gravibus penis et censuris, prout in accluso his exemplo videbis, quatenus attentata hactenus per eum contra ecclesias membraque illius ac nostram et apostolice sedis auctoritatem mox revocet et annullet et ab hujusmodi temerariis ausibus ammodo abstineat. Quod si forte non fecerit, tibi sub penis et censuris antedictis mandamus ut ipsum ac sibi adherentes quoscumque in singulis tuarum civitatis et diocesis ecclesiis et monasteriis penas et censuras hujusmodi incidisse denuncies et ab omnibus Christifidelibus vitandos fore publices et tamdiu publicari ac ab aliis tanquam membra putrida resecari facias, donec et quousque mandatis et jussionibus nostris hujusmodi paruerint cum effectu. Datum Rome die vicesima secunda Octobris anno 1492 anno primo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Armar. LIII, no. 18, f° 150 ; collated with Bibl. Vatic. Lat., Cod. 3881, f° 303 ; Paris, Archiv. Nation., L. 389. An. 1492.

DOCUMENT 115.

Brief of Pope Alexander VI to Archduke Maximilian.

Duci Maximiliano.

Dilecte fili etc. Scimus dilecte fili te pro pietate innata non minus devotionis et observantie in sanctam apostolicam sedem quam ceterarum paternarum virtutum esse immitatorem, nec nobis ullo modo persuadere possumus ubi tua intersit nobilitas quicquam decretandum iri in quo honor dicte sedis et ecclesiastica libertas diminuatur. Verumtamen quia nonnulli affectus proprios immoderate sequentes, salutisque animarum obliti aliquid vel suadere vel impetrare contra auctoritatem ipsius sedis et libertatis ecclesiastice fortasse tentabunt, non inutile putavimus his literis excellentiam tuam commonere facere ut cautius evitare fallacias et melius auctoritatem apostolicam possis tueri. Hortamur igitur te caritate paterna et obtestamur ut quemadmodum tua preclara indoles et clarissimorum progenitorum tuorum semper catholicorum pietas exigit precipuam rationem apostolice dignitatis et auctoritatis ac ecclesiastice libertatis habeas, nec admittas preces aut propositiones cujuscumque si que forte, quod non credimus, fiant in diminutionem apostolice dignitatis. Porro si id feceris ut confidimus, opinióni que ab omnibus de tua excellentia est concepta facile respondebis. Deum omnipotentem sub cujus tutela sancta apostolica sedes est magis propitium tibi reddes et nos sedemque ipsam in tuis desideriis liberales atque benignos sperare merito poteris. Datum etc.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Armar. LIII. no. 18, f° 152.

DOCUMENT 116.

Brief of Pope Alexander VI to Archduke Philip.

Dilecto filio nobili viro, Philippo archiduci Austrie, Burgundie et Brabantie Duci Alexander pp. VI.

Dilecte fili etc.Auctoritatem sancte apostolice sedis in tuis dominiis et presertim in Ducatu brabantie contempni, libertatem ecclesiasticam tolli multorum fidedignorum testimonio

intelligentes mirati sumus pariter et doluimus, nec sane id nobilitati tue ascribimus, qui per etatem fortasse prospicere non potes quantum ista conscientie honorique tuo obsint. Cum tamen in tenera etate optima indole et ingenio ut audivimus preditus sis preceptoris vicem te sustinere posse facile credimus. Quare te hortamur in dno. ut quo magis rex regum deus tuum principatum stabiliat, inter cetera tue institutionis precepta id primum esse non negligas, quod deum colas deum timeas et Illum in suis ministris venereris, ecclesiastica jura nullo unquam tempore violari permittas Apostolice quoque sedis auctoritatem et Christi Vicarii jurisdictionem a tuis subditis dilaniari non sinas. Et si quid in hiis sub tue nobilitatis umbra temere commissum fuerit, id mox emendari ac in irritum revocari facias, ne ad culpam tibi imputetur quod te permittente in detestabilem traheretur abusum. Nam si secus egerint non facile reperies quemquam ex hiis prospere regnasse. Sunt tam sacri quam gentilium codices pleni exemplis. Intellige ex tuis aulicis quam felicibus tui progenitores donec haec observaverint claruere successibus. Tu igitur disce juvenis sic principatum tenere ut Christo principi regum terre qui te fecit principem, quod optamus, placeas, ne tandem cadas sicut unus ex principibus priusquam consenescas. Datum Rome, XXII. Octobris 1492, Anno primo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Armar. LIII, no. 18, f° 149 ; collated with Bibl. Vatic. Lat., Cod. 3881, f° 303vo ; Paris, Archiv. Nation., L. 389 and Vienna, Archiv. of the Benedictines " Zu den Schotten ".

DOCUMENT 117.

Institution of a tribunal to punish disloyalty to King Louis XII.

Alexander etc. Dilecto filio Georgio tt. S. Sixti pbro. Card. Salt. Ad audientiam siquidem nostram carissimo in Chro. filio nro. Ludovico francorum Rege illustri per diversas litteras suas suumque apud nos destinatum oratorem referente pervenit quod cum alias ipse Rex Ducatum Mediolanen. ad eum pertinentem... recuperasset illumque possideret et dilectus filius

nobilis vir Ludovicus Sfortia Vicecomes qui ducatum ipsum tunc occupabat cum certis suis sequacibus a dicto Ducatu aufugisset, nonnulli prelati et alie ecclesiastice persone seculares et diversorum ordinum regulares etiam in dignitatibus constitute que in dicto Ducatu remanserant ac prefato Regi in ejus receptione fidelitatem servare dictoque Ludovico de cetero in aliquo directe vel indirecte nolle adherere iuraverant, et que ad pacis et quietis bonum tota mente aspirare tenebantur, animarum suarum salutis, status et honoris immemores Deique timore postposito, contra proprium juramentum venientes, adversus ipsum Regem ausu temerario insurgere dictumque Ludovicum cum armorum copia ad dictum Ducatum revocare et in illum introducere illique adversus ipsum Regem adherere presumpserunt, propter que hominum cedes, incendia, depredationes etiam ecclesiarum et bonorum earumdem... subsecuta fuere... Quare pro parte dicti Regis nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum ut contra personas predictas... procedi aliasque in premissis oportune provideri mandare de benignitate apostolica dignaremur. Nos igitur... circumspectioni tue... committimus et mandamus quatinus vocatis prelatis et aliis personis ecclesiasticis predictis... inquiras..... et si per inquisitionem eandem reppereris relata ipsa veritate subniti, contra eas etiam usque ad privationem monasteriorum, valorem tamen annuum Ducentorum florenorum non excedentium, Prioratuum... per eos obtentorum, ac amotionem ab illis si et prout de iure fuerit faciendum procedere dicta auctoritate procures — with power of appointing other incumbents — super ecclesiis vero cathedralibus etiam metropolitanis ac aliis monasteriis de quibus consistorialiter provideri consuevit processus debitos formare illosque deinde in publicam formam redactos, ut super eisdem maturius cum venerabilibus fratribus nris. S. R. E. cardinalibus deliberare et ulterius ad excessuum et delictorum hmoi. punitionem juxta illorum exigentiam procedere possimus, sub tuo sigillo ad nos remittere... procures. Non obstantibus... Datum Rome apud Sanctum petrum Anno Incarnationis dominice Millesimoquingentesimo, Decimo Kl. Septembr. Pontificatus nri. anno octavo.

Paris, Archives Nation., J. 506, no. 17. Original.

DOCUMENT 118.

Ferdinand I, king of Naples calls Jofre de Borgia nephew of pope Alexander VI.

Rex Sicilie etc... Messer loise...

La dicta Sta non ha causa congosciarse de quello ve replicaimo circa lo facto de trani, perche havendo quella demandato al Illmo principe de Altamura nostro figlio che ad suo nepote se havesse da providere de uno beneficio deli primi vacaturi in questo regno de intrata de octocento in mille ducati lanno, et essendo noi remasti contentissimi farlo per gratificare ad sua b^ne^ deveria restare satisfacta, maxime che po essere certa che si principe al mundo desidera beneficare li soi parenti credimo essere uno de quelli... Et percio da nostra parte la supplicarite che de bono animo voglia expedire lo facto de Tranì per lo episcopo de piczolo, che subito venga ad vacare in lo Regno prelatura de mille ducati lanno simo contenti ne sia provisto suo nepote... Mai tra essa et noi serra differentia de cento ducati piu o meno che voglia donare de beneficii ad uno deli soi, et maxime al prothonotario, quale prosequimo con singulare benevolentia... Datum neapoli XXII februarii MCCCCLXXXXIII. Rex ferdinandus.

Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, Vol. II. P. I, p. 299.

And March 6th 1493... Havimo visto quanto ve fo dicto per la Sta de N. S. circa lo facto del prothonotario suo nepote, et ad questa parte per altre ve havimo Scripto quello ne e occorso...

Ibid., p. 305.

DOCUMENT 119.

Progeny and heritage of Cesar de Borgia.

...Pardevant Guilleaume Demotz et nicolas Lecamus notaires du Roy notred. Seigneur... furent presens en leurs personnes Messire Jehan Delaguerte... pour et au nom de Sa Majesté... d'une part et Mre Claude de Bourbon chevalier de l'Ordre du Roy Seigneur et baron de Busset fils et heritier de feuz Philip-

pes de Bourbon ecuier et de Dame Louise de Bourgia fille unique et heritiere de deffuns Domp Cezar de Bourgia et de Dame Charlotte d'Albret en son nom d'aute part

Disant led. Messire Claude de Bourbon que feu de bonne memoire le Roy Louis douzieme ayant volonté de recouvrer son Duché de Milan rechercha tous les moyens de retirer a son service led. Domp Cezar de Bourgia neveu du Pappe Alexandre sixieme auquel il fut persuadé venir en france souz grandes promesses quil luy faisoit de luy donner vingt mille livres de rente par chacun an en tiltre du Duché dans ce Royaulme pour etre le prope heritage dud. de Bourgia et des siens a perpetuité, aussy de le marier a une sienne parente de son sang et le adopter en la maison de france, et encores de le rembourser de tous les deniers fraitz et mise quil feroit tant pour son voiage a venir en france que pour son service au pais d'italie, lequel feu de Bourgia s estant assuré sur la foy dud. Seigneur Roy et de ses promesses auroit délaissé son pais tous ses parens son bien et ses grands appointements et bienfaitz quil recepvoit ordinairement tant dud. pappe Alexandre son oncle que des aultres potentats et grands seigneurs d'Italie ses parens alliez et confederez pour venir en france au service de Sa Majesté Laquelle ne complissant ses foy et promesses par ses lettres patentes données a Estampes au mois d'aoust l'an mil quatre cent quatre vingt dixhuit feist cession et transport aud. de Bourgia pour lui ses hoirs et successeurs des Comtés et Seigneuries de Vallentinois et Diois leurs appartenances et dependances, reservant a luy seulement les foy et hommage lige resort et souveraineté Lesquels Comtés depuis en faveur dud. Bourgia led. Seigneur Roy erigea en tiltre de Duché par sesdittes lettres patentes... Ayant été les fraitz faitz par icelluy de Bourgia tant pour le service du Roy en itallye que pour son voiage de venir en france liquidés a la somme de cent quinze mil livres et oultre led. de Bourgia feist prest actuellement aud. Sieur Roy pour subvenir aux fraitz de ses guerres de la somme de cent quinze mil ecuz d'or couronne... et d'aultant que lesd. Duché de Vallentinois et conté de Diois n'ont été trouvés valoir vingt mil livres de rente led. Sieur Roy par deulx de ses aultres lettres patentes... auroit et a ceddé et transporté aud. de Bourgia sesd. hoirs et successeurs perpetuellement les Chastel et Seigneurie Dissoldun... Suivant laquelle foy et

promesse dud. feu Roy Loys douzieme a son pourchatz et pourfaitte et moyennant les dons cessions et transports susd. Marriage auroit eté proparlé fait et accomply entre led. de Bourgia et Dame Charlotte D'albret fille du feu Sieur D'albret, et led. de bourgia tant quil a vecu feist infinis et importans services au Roy et a sa Couronne et par son moyen et dudit Pappe Alexandre son oncle sous l'aultorité desquels les Potentats et estats D'itallye estoyent contenus en obeissance ledit feu Seigneur Roy auroit recouvert sond. Duché de Milan, et lequel de Bourgia en continuant faire service aud. feu Sieur Roy serait decedé en l'an Mil cinq cent six etant lors Seigneur et possesseur desd. Duchés de Vallentinois Conté de Diois chastel et Seigneurie D'issoldun ayant délaissé lad. Dame Charlotte D'albret sa veuve et Loise de Borgia sa fille unique et heritiere en bas d'aige, sur lesquelles les officiers du Roy feyrent saisir lesd. Duchés de Vallentinois et Conté de Diois Chastel et Seigneurie D'issoldun et les depossederent. Lesquelles appellerent de lad. saisie et obtindrent lettres pour convertir leur appel en opposition et quelque temps apres lad. Loyse de Borgia auroit et a eté conjointe par marriage avec feu Messire Philippes de Bourbon Chevalier Seigneur Dubousset duquel mariage est yssu led. Messire Raoul de Bourbon demandeur et laquelle Dame Loyse de Borgia en l'an Mil cinq cent cinquante auroit présenté sa requeste au feu Roy Henry... et depuis led. Messire Claude de Bourbon fils et heritier de lad. deffunte de Borgia auroit et a présenté sa requeste aux fins que dessus au Roy Charles a present regnant...

Et de la part dudit sieur Procureur general auroit et a eté dit... d'ailleurs n'est led. procureur general d'accord des pretendus services faitz par led. feu de Borgia et quant il en auroit fait il en a eté suffisamment recompensé par grosses pentions et appointements quil a eu de sa Majesté, et combien que led. Borgia eut eu cet honneur d'avoir eté retenu Chevalier de l'ordre consequament ne peult porter les armes contre le Roy et quil eut don desd. Duché de Valentinois et Conté de Diois ensemble de lad. terre et Seigneurie d'Issouldun, ainsy quil eut été adopté en france et marié si honnorablement tellement qu'il auroit grande occasion de se contenter et de faire perpetuel service au Roy touttesfois led. de Borgia uzant d'ingratitude et mescongnoissance des biens a luy faits incontinant

apres la mort dud. Pappe Alexandre... se seroit mis du party des ennemis du Roy Loys douzieme... led. Loys douzieme auroit fait reunir au Domaine de D'aulphiné lesd. Duché de Vallentinois et Diois a la forme quilz estoient auparavant led. donations auroit fait semblablement reunir lad. terre d'Issoudun au Domaine du Duché de Berry.....

Est intervenu arrest du huitieme jour de fevrier dernier cy apres transcript comme dit est suivant lequel arrest iceluy sieur procureur general pour au nom d'icelle Majesté a promis et promet par ces presentes faire bailler et payer aud. Sieur baron de Busset et a Jehan de Bourbon ecuyer Seigneur dela Motte de feuilly son frere :... Le Roy... a voulu et ordonné que sond. procureur general passera transaction avec led. Claude de Bourbon et Jehan de Bourbon son frere pour la somme de quarante Mil livres de laquelle iceluy Claude de Bourbon sera payé par les tresoriers de L'espargne en quatre années par esgalle portion a scavoir Dix mil Livres en la présente année aultre Dix mil livres l'année prochaine pareille somme de Dix mil livres en l'année que lon comptera mil cinq cent soixante quinze et les aultres dix Mil livres en l'année Mil cinq cent soixante seize...

Fait au conseil privé du Roy tenu a Paris le huitieme jour de fevrier Mil cinq cent soixante treize...

Paris, Archiv. Nation., Codex K. 188. no. 154. — 8 Fevrier, 1573.

DOCUMENT 120.

The Seigniory of Florence begs the Pope to retain Savonarola to preach in their city.

Savonarola was ordered to Lucca, ma la Signoria di Firenze nol portò in pace e a' 28 dicembre del 94 scrisse al Papa :

Sanctissime et beatissime Pater : Frater Hieronymus Ferrariensis, qui in urbe nostra conventui Sancti Marci preest, vir est et sanctitate morum ac vera religione admirandus, et sacris litteris omnino insignis : quibus rebus nostro populo, qui Vestre Sanctitatis est, ducem optimum ad multa atque preclara agenda se prebuit, speramusque deinceps plura ipsum ac prestantiora, modo apud nos maneat, facturum. Verum quia Lucam

urbem paulo post, superioris jussu, profecturus est, nosque, non sine summo desiderio ac detrimento relicturus ; hoc pium ac justum piam justamque Sanctitatem Vestram summopere iterum atque iterum rogamus ut ejusdem jussu pedem hinc efferre vitetur : Hoc nobis Populoque nostro universo ita gratum erit, ut nihil gratius acceptiusque ac salutarius, etsi omnia gratissima expectemus, hoc tempore accidere possit. Nos urbem Populumque Florentinum, Sedi Apostolice deditissimum ac penitus addictum, Sanctitati Vestre clementissime commendamus.

Giornale Storico degli Archivi Toscani, in Archiv. Stor. Ital. Vol. VI, p. 123.

DOCUMENT 121.

Pope Alexander VI calls Savonarola to Rome, to give an account of his doctrine.

Dilecte Fili, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Inter ceteros vineae Domini Sabbaoth operarios te plurimum laborare multorum relatu percepimus : de quo valde laetamur et laudes omnipotenti Domino referimus, qui talem gratiam in humanis sensibus praebuerit. Nec dubitamus te eo divino Spiritu, qui gratias inter mortales distribuit, et posse in populo christiano verbum Dei seminare et fructum centuplum lucrifacere. Quemadmodum, proximis diebus, per tuas literas huius te animi atque propositi esse intelleximus, idest, ea te in tuis praedicationibus populo indicare quae servitutis Dei esse cognoscis. Et quoniam nuper populo nobis relatum est, te postmodum in publicis sermonibus dixisse, ea quae futura nuntias, non a te ipso aut humana sapientia, sed divina revelatione dicere ; idcirco cupientes, sicut nostro pastorali officio competit, super his tecum loqui et ex ore tuo audire, ut quod placitum est Deo, melius per te cognoscentes peragamus, hortamur atque mandamus in virtute sanctae obedientiae ut quam primum ad nos venias. Videbimus enim te paterno amore et charitate.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die XXI Julii MCCCCXCV.

B. Floridus.

Perrens, Jérome Savonarola, p. 352, from a ms. of the Bibl. Marciana of Venice ; Villari, Girolamo Savonarola, vol. I, p. CIV, compared.

DOCUMENT 122.

Savonarola excuses himself from going to Rome.

Beatissime Pater, post pedum oscula beatorum. Etsi majorum semper mandatis obtemperandum esse novi, cum scriptum sit : Qui vos audit me audit, scio tamen eorum potius mentem quam verba pensanda. Unde in capitulo : Si quando aliqua, De rescriptis, ut tenet Sanctitas Vestra, ex textu Alexandri III antiqui antecessoris vestri, rescriptum ad Archiepiscopum Ravennatem in hunc modum : " Qualitatem negocii, pro quo tibi scribitur, diligenter considerans, aut mandatum nostrum reverenter adimpleas, aut per literas tuas quare adimplere non possis rationabilem causam praetendas ; quia patientes sustinebimus, si non feceris quod prava nobis fuerit insinuatione suggestum ". Ego igitur qui dudum cupio visere Romam quam nunquam vidi, ut limina apostolorum Petri et Pauli et aliorum Sanctorum reliquias ac Beatitudinem Vestram coram venerari queam, majori nunc succensus sum desiderio ex occasione mandati Sanctitatis Vestrae, quae minimum vermiculum ad se vocari dignata est. Tamen quia plura obstant, causas illi rationabiles afferre conabor, ut sciat me necessitate, non voluntate, detineri quominus in praesentia paream mandatis a me libentissime ac reverenter susceptis. Primum igitur vetat corporis infirmitas, febris scilicet et dissenteriae, quas modo passus sum ; deinde propter assiduos corporis et animi aestus pro hujus civitatis salute, hoc praesertim anno susceptos, adeo stomaco caeterisque vitalibus membris debilitatus sum ut aliquid laboris amplius tollerare nequeam ; quin immo a praedicationibus et studiis ipsis abstinere oportet ex consilio medicorum, quorum atque aliorum omnium communi sententia, nisi oportunis remediis me curandum tradidero, brevi mortis periculum incurram. Cum civitatem hanc a non mediocri sanguinis effusione et a multis aliis noxiis mea opera Dominus liberaverit et ad concordiam legesque sanctas revocaverit, infesti facti sunt

mihi, tam in civitate quam extra, iniqui homines, cum cives tum alienigenae, sanguinem humanum sitientes, qui extollere cornu suum et in praedam atque servitutem civitatem hanc occupare ardentissime affectabant, et opinione sua frustrati, vehementissime mihi irati, odio habuerunt me gratis : saepe quoque, nunc veneno nunc gladio, in perditionem meam aspirarunt, ita ut extra limen sine custodibus tute ferre pedem non possim. Atque ideo, ubi me ad regem Francorum contuli licet fidissima custodia munitum, non passi sunt cives hi qui rempublicam suam diligunt, me suae jurisdictionis limites transire. Et quamquam in Domino confido, tamen, ne tentare Deum videar, debitas cautiones non contemnendas judicavi, cum scriptum sit : Si vos persecuti sunt in una civitate, fugite in aliam. Insuper, nova haec civitatis reformatio, quam Dominus operatus est infirmas adhuc radices habet, et nisi quotidie roboretur et elimetur, facile anelantibus pessimis hominibus, detrimentum et eversionem incurreret. Cum itaque judicio omnium prudentium et bonorum virorum discessus meus maximae jacturae huic populo et modicae istic utilitatis foret, credo Sanctitatem Vestram exigui temporis dilationem non moleste habituram, dum hoc caeptum perficiatur opus, cujus gratia haec impedimenta ne proficiscar nutu divino accidisse equidem certus sum, non enim est voluntas Dei ut ad praesens hinc abeam. Spero autem brevi tempore adfuturum, quo ex voto Sanctitatis Vestrae Romam cum ampliori apostolatus ipsius satisfactione venire me liceat. Quod si forte nunc de rebus futuris circa Italiae excidium et Ecclesiae renovationem a me publice praedictis Sanctitas Vestra certior fieri optat, ex libello, quem modo imprimendum curavi, eadem plane scire poterit, et quam primum perfectum erit opus Sanctitati Vestrae mittendum tradam ; ex quo quicquid a me audire possit plenissime accipiet. Nec enim alia quam in eo continentur mihi profari concessum. Sola enim quae praecepta sunt exposui, quae autem in archa habenda sunt nulli mortalium aperiri fas est. Illa autem edere scriptis procuravi, ut constet Universo orbi, si minus eadem successissent, me falsum fuisse prophetam ; si vero juxta praenuntiata evenerint, gratiae agantur Deo Salvatori nostro, qui eam de salute nostra sollicitudinem habere ostendit ut neminem, si fieri possit, perire velit in aeternum. Demum rogo Beatitudinem Vestram ut excusationes meas verissimas et manifestas admittat, ut

sibi persuasum habeat me nihil magis optare quam eidem parere et obsequi, et non me supra vires meas ulterius gravet. Egomet mihi stimulus ero, cum primum sublatis justis impedimentis, satisfacere potero ipsi B. V., cui me humillime commendo.

Ex conventu S. Marci Florentiae, ultima Julii, 1495.

Perrens, Jérome Savonarola, p. 353, from a ms. of the Bibl. Marciana of Venice ; Villari, Girol. Savonarola, vol. I, p. CV, compared.

DOCUMENT 123.

The Pope suspends Savonarola from preaching and re-unites the convent of San Marco with the province of Lombardy.

Alexander Papa VI. Dilectis filiis Priori et conventui Monasterii Sancti Marci Ordinis Predicatorum in civitate Florentiae.

Dilecti filii Salutem etc. Quia divini consilii inscrutabilis altitudo Universali administrandae Ecclesiae Nos Petri successorem licet immeritum hoc tempore preesse disposuit iugi quantum nobis divino munere datur diligentiae studio procurandis hiis rebus intendimus, quibus religio salus et pax christiano populo conservetur, floreat et amplificetur ; dogmatum vero novitas fictae simplicitatis adumbrata velamine, quia in populo frequenter et clero scismata, haereses et morum subversio oriuntur de Ecclesia nitimur emendacionis flagello pellatur, ne quietum corporis Ecclesiae statum solicitare in presentia possit. neque caeteris delinquendi exemplo isto malo potestas fiat in posterum. Sane Hyeronimum quemdam Savonarolam de Ferraria ordinis Predicatorum novitate pravi dogmatis delectatum accepimus, et in eam mentis insaniam Italicarum rerum commutatione deductum, ut se missum a Deo, et cum Deo loqui, sine ulla canonica attestatione, fateatur in populo contra canonicas sanctiones. Non sufficit cuiquam nude tantum asserere quod ipse sit missus a Deo, cum hoc quilibet hereticus assereret, sed oportet quod ostendat illam invisibilem missionem per operationem miraculi vel scripturae testimonium speciale. Christum praeterea Jesum Crucifixum et Deum mentiri, si ipse mentiatur, horrendum certe et execrabile adjurationis genus ;

extra statum salutis quemquam fieri vanis illius assertionibus non credentem ; alia deinceps illum non minus inepta facere, dicere et scribere, quae si praetereantur impune, nihil est quod non ausura falsorum religiosorum temeritas sit, et in corpus Ecclesiae, quod verendum est, vitia sub virtutum specie subintrarent. Cogitavimus longa cunctatione et diuturna patientia nostra efficere ut fatuam illam propheticam suam professionem recognosceret, ad solidae veritatis viam deflecteret, ex qua turbationis caussa in Ecclesia fuerant illius verba temere et inique prolata, consulte et fideliter revocaret. Credebamus post aliquod tempus jam advenisse diem quo de ipso meliora concipere deberemus, ac dolorem quem nunc ex effrena arrogantia et scandalosa separatione a patribus suis Lombardiae perpessi fueramus, quae subdola caliditate et, sicut post cognovimus, perversorum quorumdam fratrum impetrata est, admodo ex sua humili adherentia in laetitiam commutaremus. Sed, quod dolenter referimus, spe nostra frustrati sumus, nam licet per literas nostras ipsum in virtute sanctae obedientiae monuerimus ut ad nos veniret, veritatem et ab ore suo intellecturos, tamen non solum venire et nobis obedire recusavit, verum etiam ipse acerbiorem in dies magis doloris nobis causam subministravit, impudenter fidelium oculis legenda ingerens, quae solo alias auditu temere profuderat inhibenda. Eapropter quando nos reddendae universae Italiae pacis grandi ac laborioso opere detineamur, hanc ipsam caussam fratri Sebastiano de Madiis de Brixia, Congregationis Lombardiae ordinis Praedicatorum generali Vicario decernendam iudicandam puniendamque secundum vestri ordinis statuta commisimus per literas nostras in forma brevis, Hyeronimo Savonarolae predicto in virtute sancte obedientiae, sub excommunicationis late sententiae paena, stricte precipiendo mandantes et Vicarium praedictum ad cognoscendam hujusmodi causam a nobis judicem deputatum prompta et sincera obedientia recognoscat, illius mandatis ubilibet gentium se citaverit, omni evocatione et appellatione postposita parituras. Interea vero dum haec causa coram praedicto vicario discutietur ab omni declamandi in populo et publice legendi offitio per praesentes literas praedictum Hyeronimum suspensum esse decernimus. Caeterum ne alteri cuiquam ex fratribus vestris malo exemplo eiusdem Hyeronimi libertate propria delectati, errandi et decipiendi

tribuatur facultas, locum istum Sti Marci de Florentia et Sancti Dominici apud Fesulas ordinis praedicatorum admodo praefatae congregationi Lombardiae reunimus, incorporamus, annectimus, omnibus fratribus praedictorum locorum Sancti Marci et Sancti Dominici, sub excommunicationis latae sententiae paena mandantes ut Vicario praedicti Congregationis Lombardiae velut suo legitimo pastori pareant et intendant. Revocantes ex nunc et revocatum esse decernentes quidquid auctoritatis, facultatis sive potestatis cuiquam alteri etiam apostolica auctoritate esset indultum, injungentes quoque sub ejusdem excommunicationis latae sententiae paena fratri Dominico de Pescia et fratri Thoma Bussino et fratri Silvestro de Florentia, ut infra spatium novem dierum, quorum tres assignamus pro primo termino, tres pro secundo et tres pro tertio a notitia presentium, Bononiam proficiscantur, auctoritate praedicti Vicarii Lombardiae, in uno quopiam conventuum Congregationis preterquam in dominio florentinorum collocandi. In contrarium facientibus non obstantibus quibuscumque. Datum Romae, etc.

Rome, Bibl. Barberini Cod. XXXIII, 182, f° 373, and XXXIV, 5, f° 303 ; Bibl. Vittorio Emm. Mss. Sessoriani, 224, (1259) f° 344 ; Thuasne, Diar., Burchardi, Vol. II, p. 462 ; Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad An. 1497, no. XVII ; compared.

DOCUMENT 124.

Pope Alexander VI conditionally revokes his former Briefs and threats against Savonarola.

Alexander PP. VI. Dilecto filio fratri Hieronymo Savonarola de Ferraria, ordinis predicatorum.

Dilecte fili, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Licet uberius per alias literas nostras in forma brevis explicaverimus quantum nobis displicuerint turbationes presertim istius populi Florentini, et eo magis quod habuerint ortum a predicationibus tuis, quia conabaris, omissis vitiorum extirpationibus et laudibus virtutum, publicis in sermonibus futura predicere affirmareque te ea habuisse a lumine eternitatis ac inspirante Spiritu sancto : propter que et similia simplices homines deviare possent a via salutis et obedientia sancte romane Ecclesie.

Debuisses enim potius predicare in tuis predicationibus unionem ac pacem, quam similes quas vulgus vocat prophetias tuas divinationesque predicare ; debuisses etiam considerare quod conditiones temporum vehementer repugnant tali doctrine quam in medium affers, que sufficeret etiam ponere discordiam, etiam ubi esset summa pax, quanto magis ubi vigent tales simultates et factiones. Periculum itaque multarum animarum et desiderium nostrum quietis ipsius populi, et ut satisfaceremus officio nostro pastorali, adduxere nos ut ad te scriberemus, nec sine maturo consilio decerneremus omnino te vocare ad nos, ut te purgares a tibi impositis ; que profecto, si vera essent, non deberent impune transire. Cum autem nuper intellexerimus ab aliquibus fratribus nostris sancte romane Ecclesie cardinalibus et per literas tuas et nuntios quod paratus es in omnibus per te dictis vel factis subjicere te correctioni sancte romane Ecclesie, quod est officium boni christiani et religiosi hominis, plurimum letati sumus, incipimusque persuadere nobis ea te predicasse non malo animo, sed potius simplicitate quadam et zelo proficiendi in vinea Domini, licet certe contarium experientia doceat. Verum ne videamur talia penitus negligere que nullo pacto sunt negligenda, decrevimus iterum ad te scribere, et respondentes literis tuis, tibi mandamus in virtute sancte obedientie quod amplius abstineas omnino ab omni predicatione tam publice quam secrete, ita ut non possit tibi imponi quod cessans a publicis sermonibus te convertaris ad conventicula : quem modum omnino teneas donec te commode et cum ea honestate que decet religiosum, non stipatus, ut intelligimus, militibus, possis ad presentiam nostram conferre. Videbimus enim te hilari et paterno animo, vel donec maturius deliberemus quem modum debeas in futurum tenere vel, si nobis videbitur, aliquem idoneum et probum virum destinabimus. Quod si feceris, ut speramus, ex nunc suspendimus brevia et contenta in illis que adscripsimus et quascumque clausulas in eis contentas, ut quiete possis conscientie tue vaçare. Datum Rome, apud sanctum Petrum, die sexta decima octobris 1497.

Thuasne, Burchardi Diar., t. II, p. 465, where, in note I, is the remark that " Ce bref partit de Rome le 8 Sept. 1496 ", according to Villari ; Rome, Bibl. Vitt. Eman. Mss. Sessoriani, no. 224 (1259), f° 346, where the correct date, " 16ª Octobris,

1495 ", is given ; Rome, Bibl. Barberini. Cod. XXXIII. 182 f° 374v° and Cod. XXXIV, 5, f° 306 ; and Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1497, no. XIX, who evidently misplaces the brief.

DOCUMENT 125.

Letter of Pietro Delphini to Barrotius, bishop of Padua, about Savonarola.

Petro Barrotio Ep° Paduano.

Ambire fratrem Hieronymum archiepiscopatum Florentinum abs te primum didici, non tamen solo. Nam sciscitatus postmodum, an res ita se haberet, audivi a nonnullis, ita olim Florentiae fuisse creditum. Ego autem... do not personally believe it, maxime cum invehi prae caeteris in ambitiosos clericos ac religiosos visus sit. Potest hic esse propheta mendax, potest esse hypocrita et simulare sanctitatem : qua suspitione etiam hic Florentiae haud penitus vacat. Certe demens non est, quantum de eo omnes praedicant, nemine dissentiente. Accepta per hos dies nova Pisarum liberatorum clade, obruendum fuisse lapidibus a populo maerente ac tristi haud dubie credidissem, si non assertor veritatis, sed simulator atque ambitiosus ab eodem fuisset existimatus. Laceratur quidem modo in plebe a multis et carpitur Pisarum defectione et Gallorum fraude. Longe tamen plures inveniri, et de primoribus maxime, qui rebus presunt, qui et hominem tuentur, et ejus vaticiniis fidem habent, nec deficiunt spe futura esse quaecumque praedixerit. Non praedicat ipse modo, imo jam fere duo menses sunt quod ab hoc desiit munere,prohibitus, ut aiunt, a Pontifice per apostolicum breve. Suffecit tamen socium in locum suum, quem Hieronymum eumdem existimant. Et hic populo placentia loquitur : hortans ut bono sit animo, siquidem iota unum aut unum apicem non praeteriturum ab iis quae Hieronymus praedixerit, donec omnia fiant... Florentiae die VII. Januarii 1496.

Petri Delphini Epist. Lib. 4. Ep. LXXVI.

DOCUMENT 126.

Pope Alexander VI institutes the Tusco-Roman Congregation.

Dilectis filiis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Reformationi et augumento vestrae sacrae religionis prout tenemur favorabiliter attendentes, quae omnium Conditori gratissima, et pie devotioni fidelium accepta est et fructuosa : libenter ad illa intendimus, per quae utiliter et salubriter valeat provideri, quod laudabiliter ritus, mores et observantia regularis in omnibus domibus vestri ordinis, continue vigeat et prosperum suscipiat, adiuvante Domino, incrementum. Huiusmodi, igitur, pro desiderio inducti, ac sperantes quod si Domus S. Mariae de Querqu extra muros Viterbienses, S. Spiritus de Senis, S. Catherinae de Pisis, S. Sabinae de Urbe, nec non S. Dominici de S. Geminiano ordinis vestri, quae congregationi Fratrum Lombardiae unitae et incorporatae aliquandiu permanserunt, si a congregatione predicta et illius vicarii et praelatorum in presentia separarentur, ac statueretur quod tam predictae quam etiam alie Domus vestrae, S. Mariae supra Minervam de Urbe, S. Mariae ad Gradus Viterbiensis, S. Dominici de Perusio, S. Dominici Cortonensis, S. Agnetis Montis Politiani, S. Marci de Florentia, S. Dominici de Fesulis, S. Mariae de Saxo nec non S. Dominici Pratensis, et S. Romani de Luca et S. Dominici Pistoriensis vestri ordinis Domus, et vos nunc et pro tempore degentes in eis, Priores et Fratres, unam aliam congregationem invicem fratrum Romanae et Thusciae provinciae, secundum morem dicti ordinis nuncupandam, sub unius proprii vicarii degentium, constituere exinde profecto salubris propagatio ritus et mores observantiae regularium instituere dicti ordinis domibus; et eorum fratribus provenirent praesertim quod dictae Domus invicem in magna existant propinquitate, et commode a suo vicario visitari, Fratresque in ipsis degentes ad eum faciliter sese conferre, et suis opportunitatibus subvenire possunt, iuxta vestrarum seriem constitutionum.

Motu igitur proprio, non alicuius nobis oblatae petitionis instantia, sed de nostra mera liberalitate et ex certa scientia, S. Mariae de Quercu, S. Spiritus Senesis, S. Dominici de S. Geminiano, S. Catherinae de Pisis, S. Sabinae de Urbe

domus, et vos nunc et pro tempore degentes in eis Priores et fratres, a congregatione predicta Lombardiae et illius vicarii et Prelatorum obedientia segregamus et separamus. Nec volumus per hoc detrimentum aliquod sive damnum gravari aut quoquo modo provenire praefatis domibus. Ac etiam apostolica auctoritate statuimus, ut de cetero, perpetuo futuris temporibus, tam prefatae S. S. C. per nos a dicta congregatione separatae, quam aliae domus predictae in dicta Romana et Thuscia provincia consistentes ; et vos nunc et pro tempore in eis degentes Priores et Fratres, insimul unam novam congregationem fratrum regularis vite observantie Romanae et Thusciae provinciae nuncupandam constituatis, Magistroque Generali et unius eiusdem congregationis Vicarii obbedientiae subiciamini, qui hac prima vice, per venerabilem fratrem nostrum Olivierum episcopum Sabinensem, cardinalem Neapolitanum, cum consilio dilecti filii Generalis Magistri Vestri ordinis, pro biennio nunc proxime futuro, deputetur ; et huiusmodi biennio elapso statim ab officio vicariatus censeatur absolutus, et singulis bienniis perpetuis suis temporibus, a prioribus et sociis et aliis electoribus iuxta formam Constitutionum vestri ordinis, positam in capitulo de electione prioris provincialis, eligatur : quae electio per Magistrum Generalem confirmetur nec alius Vicarius possit institui ; nisi qui sit per congregationem prima vice et legiptime electus, ipseque vicarius in dictae congregationis domos, et illarum Priores et Fratres, pari quam prior provincialis in domos et fratres suae provinciae, superioritate, iurisdictione et preheminentia ac potestate fungatur. Et quolibet anno, priores dictarum domorum cum eorum sociis ad congregationem vocare et dictas domos et in eis degentes Priores et Fratres, vel legiptime impeditus per alium in capitibus et membris visitare teneatur et debeat : nec possit in sui Vicariatus officio, finito biennio quoquomodo confirmari, aut de novo in Vicarium eligi infra biennium tunc proxime futurum. Nec etiam interim, ab officio sui vicariatus, nisi per eandem congregationem absolvi, aut eidem congregationi alias quam per congregationem ipsam electus in vicarium vel vice vicarium, sive locum tenentem eius : aut sub quovis alio nomine eidem congregationi praefici. Quod si contingat ipsum in vicariatu suo ab hac vita migrare, tunc Prior Domus S. Mariae supra Minervam vices eius in omnibus obtineat, teneaturque infra menses sex vocare Priores antiquo-

rum domorum dictae Congregationis ; de quorum consilio determinabit quando prefata electio fieri debeat, et quousque alius electus fuerit et confirmatus, eius auctoritate in omnibus fungatur. Ipse quoque vicarius tantum et electos confirmet.

Mandamus insuper, et districte precipimus in virtute sanctae obbedientiae universis et singulis fratribus ad dictas domos quoquomodo pertinentibus : et qui de dicta provincia sunt oriundi ad ipsam Congregationem Thusciae et Romanae provinciae, omni excusatione postposita, illico revertantur ; nec aliquis Frater ipsius Congregationis inde discedere possit, absque ipsius Vicarii expressa licentia. Concedimus praeterea motu et scientia simillibus vicario, domibus et Fratribus dictae Congregationis Romanae et Thusciae Provinciae et qui pro tempore erunt, ut omnibus et singulis prerogativis, privilegiis, gratiis, immunitatibus, et donis ac indulgentiis et indultis spiritualibus et temporalibus congregationi prefatae Lombardiae et illius Vicario domibus et Fratribus per nos in genere et a Sede Apostolica vel alias quomodolibet concessa : et quibus Congregatio predicta et eius vicarii domos et fratres in genere utuntur, potiuntur et gaudent, ac uti imposterum poterunt et gaudere, uti, potiri, gaudere libere et licite valeant. Proinde ac si pro ipsa Congregatione Romanae et Thusciae provinciae ac illius Domus vicario et fratribus eque principaliter emanassent, quibus etiam salvis, non intelligatur per ea derogatum superioritati Magistri vestri ordinis Generalis et vestrae in eum subiectioni, non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis, ac dictae congregationis Lombardiae, aut alicui ex prioribus et domibus praedictis Romanae et Thusciae provinciae, concessis literis etiam in forma brevis, et privilegiis quibus illa etiam si de eis eorumque totis tenoribus de verbo ad verbum, sive quavis alia expressio habenda esset et in eis quaevis clausulae derogatoriarum derogatoriae fortiores et insolitae continerentur in his praesentibus, pro expressis habentes hac vice dumtaxat illis alias in suo loco permansuris. Quod premissa specialiter et expresse derogamus ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Volumus insuper et praesentium tenore, in virtute sanctae obbedientiae districte precipiendo, sub excommunicationis latae sententiae poena mandamus universis et singulis cuiuscunque conditionis, status, dignitatis, gradus existentibus ; quatenus praesentibus nostris literis nullo modo, per

se vel per alium, directe vel indirecte, seu quovis titulo aut quesito colore, contradicere, sive impedimentum prestare audeat aut praesumat, decernentes etiam irritum et inane si secus super premissis aliquorum premissorum scienter vel ingnoranter a quoquam contigerit attentari.

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum, sub anulo Piscatoris ; die VII novembris MCCCCXCVJ, Pontificatus nostri anno V.

Dilectis filiis S. Mariae supra Minervam de Urbe, S. Mariae ad Gradus Viterbiensis, S. Mariae ad Quercum extra muros viterbiensis, S. Spiritus Senesis, S. Catharinae de Pisis, S. Sabinae de Urbe, S. Dominici de S. Geminiano, S. Marci de Florentia, S. Dominici de Fesulis, S. Dominici de Pistoria, S. Dominici de Prato, S. Romani de Luca, S. Agnetis de Monte Politiano, S. Dominici de Perusio, S. Mariae de Saxo, Prioribus et Fratribus cum eis degentibus.

Villari, Storia di Savonarola, Vol. I, p. CXLII ; from Bibl. Riccardiana, Cod. 2053, a. c. CXVIII.

DOCUMENT 127.

Brief of Excommunication of Savonarola.

Dilectis filiis Monachis Abbatie Florentin. Ordinis Sci. Benedicti. Alexander P. P. VI, Dilecti filii, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum sepe a quamplurimis fide dignis et doctis viris, tam ecclesiasticis quam secularibus, in diversis temporibus, intellexerimus quendam fratrem Hieronymum Savonarolam ferrariensem Ordinis Predicatorum, et Sancti Marci de Florentia ad presens ut dicitur Vicarium, seminasse quoddam pernitiosum dogma in civitate Florentie, in scandalum et in jacturam ac pernitiem simplicium animarum Christi sanguine redemptarum, quod certe non sine animi nostri displicentia audivimus ; sed quia sperabamus ipsum brevi, cognito suo errore, a periculosa via se retrahere, et vera cordis simplicitate ad Christum Sanctamque Ecclesiam humiliter et debita cum obedientia redire, literis nostris in forma brevis dicto fratri Hieronymo in virtute sancte obedientie iussimus ut ad nos veniret et se excusaret de quibusdam erroribus contra eum adductis ; ac etiam quedam observaret que sibi precipiebamus ut omnino a

predicando cessaret : quibus minime parere voluit. Nos vero, bonis respectibus moti, mitius secum agentes quam forsan res postulasset, toleravimus quasdam excusationes per eum tunc adductas, ac insuper substinuimus inobedientiam suam in perseverando in suis predicationibus contra predictam prohibitionem nostram, expectantes eum nostra clementia ad rectam obedientie viam convertere. Quod cum, eo in sua duritie persistente, secus eveniret, aliis nostris literis in forma brevis sub data septima Novembris, pontificatus nostri anno quinto, sibi iussimus, in virtute sancte obedientie et sub pena excommunicationis late sententie ipso facto incurrenda, ut obediret in uniendo Conventum Sancti Marci de Florentia cuidam nove Congregationi, Romane et Tuscie provintie nuncupate, nuper per nos create et institute. Quod minime effecit ; nec parere voluit aliquo modo literis nostris, negligendo censuram ecclesiasticam, in quam ipso facto incidit, et continue pertinaciter ac damnabiliter insordescit. Quapropter nos, volentes saluti animarum istic remedia opportuna prebere, quibus tenemur pro debito pastoralis officii nobis iniuncti, ne earum sanguis de manibus nostris in die ultimi iudicii requiratur, vobis et cuilibet vestrum, in virtute sancte obedientie et sub pena excommunicationis late sententie, precipimus et mandamus ut in vestris ecclesiis, diebus festivis, dum populi aderit multitudo, declaretis et pronuntietis dictum fratrem Hieronymum excommunicatum et pro excommunicato haberi et censeri ab omnibus, eo quod nostris et apostolicis monitis et mandatis non paruerit. Ac etiam, sub simili excommunicationis pena, moneatis omnes et singulos utriusque sexus tam clericos quam seculares, tam presbyteros quam religiosos cuiuscumque ordinis, et quoscumque in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutos, ut dictum fratrem Hieronymum excommunicatum et de heresi suspectum penitus evitent nec secum conversentur aut loquantur, nec in predicationibus quibus eum interdiximus aut quibuscumque aliis modis ipsum audiant, nec sibi auxilium seu favorem directe vel indirecte prestent quomodocumque et qualitercumque, nec accedant ad loca vel ad monasteria ubi ipsum residere contigerit. Mandantes vobis et cuilibet vestrum ut dilecto filio Joanni Victorio de Camerino, sacre theologie professori, familiari et commissario nostro, in his que sibi contra predictum fratrem Hieronymum commisimus et mandavimus, assistatis et pareatis, prout

ab eo fueritis requisiti. Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris, die XIII Maij MCCCCLXXXXVII, Pont. nostri anno quinto.

B. Floridus.

Villari, Storia di Savon. Vol. II, p. XXXIX ; compared with Munich, K. Staatsbibl. Cod. Lat. 434, f° 149 where the date is " die XII Maii ", and the heading is " Excommunicatio publicata Florentie contra fratrem Hieronymum de Ferraria de heresi suspectum in Ecclesia Fratrum de Observantia Sancti Francisci die dominico XVIII Junii MCCCCLXXXXVII.

DOCUMENT 128.

Pope Alexander VI threatens Florence with interdict.

Dilectis filiis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Intelligentes, superioribus temporibus, graves admodum et pernitiosos errores iniquitatis filii Hieronymi Savonarolae Ferrariensis ordinis fratrum predicatorum professoris, quod continuo ausu temerario in ista vestra Civitate, non sine animarum periculo et scandalo plurimorum, seminare non cessabat ; sibi per quosdam mandavimus ad nos venire, et se de erroribus predictis excusare, ac etiam nonnulla observare quae sibi precipiebamus, et a predicatione omnino cessare. Et cum minime parere voluisset, deinde in virtute obedientiae et sub excommunicationis latae sententiae pena, ipso facto incurrenda, per alias etiam ei iniunximus, ut in uniendo Conventum Sancti Marci de Florentia cuidam novae congregationi Romanae et Thusciae Provinciae nuncupatae, per nos institutae, obediret ; quod minime facere curavit, ecclesiasticam censuram in qua continue pertinaciter et damnabiliter insordescebat, negligendo. Postmodum, vero, volentes animarum Christi fidelium saluti consulere, sub excommunicationis latae sententiae pena, per reliquas nostras in forma Brevis literas, etiam mandavimus ; ut ipse Hieronymus in Ecclesiis dictae Civitatis, diebus festivis, dum populi adesset multitudo, declararetur et pronuntiaretur excomunicatus et pro excomunicato haberetur. Volens, sub simili pena, omnes et singuli utriusque sexus tam ecclesiastici quam seculares, etiam religiosi cuiuscumque ordinis et in qua-

cumque ecclesiastica dignitate constituti, ipsum Hieronymum ut excomunicatum et de heresi suspectum penitus evitarent, nec secum conversarentur aut loquerentur, nec in predicationibus aut quibuscumque modis ipsum audirent, nec sibi ausilium aut favorem directe vel indirecte prestarent quomodocunque vel qualitercunque, nec accederent ad loca vel ad monasteria, ubi ipsum residere contingeret, prout in singulis literis apostolicis plenius continetur. Cum autem sicut, non absque gravi animi displicentia, fidedigna quam plurimorum relatione accepimus, prefatus Hieronymus in sua obstinatione, animo perseverans voluntario, mandata et monita nostra parvifaciens, in maiori et aliis Ecclesiis Civitatis predicare, ac diversos errores seminare et populum seducere ; suggerendo, quibusdam falsis rationibus, se excomunicatum non esse, et multa in fidei Catholicae ac nostrae huius sanctae Sedis potestatis preiudicium, damnabiliter affirmando ; et in processionibus publice incedere et intervenire ac celebrare, et Christi fidelibus Eucharistiae sacramentum ministrare non erubuerit ; et quam plurimi cives et incolae dictae Civitatis predicationes suas audire, et cum eo conversari, sibique ausilium et favorem prestare presumpserunt et presumant in dies, non sine animarum suarum periculo, pernitiosoque exemplo et scandalo plurimorum, vobis prohibitiones nostras scientibus, et in illarum contemptum id permictentibus (a quibus tamen, cum Civitas ista semper huius sanctissimae Sedis devotissima fuerit, Nosque continue pro virili, quicti et saluti ac reintegrationi Status vestri insistamus, haec expectanda non erant, nec ulterius sub dissimulatione sunt pretereunda) :

Nos, volentes desuper debite providere, vos attente requirimus et monemus in Domino, vobis nihilominus in virtute sanctae obedientiae districte praecipiendo, ut pro vestra in hanc sanctam Sedem reverentia ac devotione, eundem Hieronymum ad Nos, sub fida et bona custodia transmictatis ; quod si ad Nos venerit et ad cor rediret, intuitu etiam vestro, et quia nolumus mortem peccatoris sed ut convertatur et vivat ; per Nos, more pii Patris, benigne recipietur et tractabitur : vel saltem, tanquam membrum putridum, in aliquo loco privato bene observatum recludere debeatis, in quo cum aliquibus conversari et scandalum ulterius seminare non possit. Quod si forte, quod non credimus, facere contempseritis, significamus vobis quod,

pro servanda dignitate et auctoritate nostra et huius sanctae Sedis civitatem istam vestram, quae hominem ita pernitiosum, excomunicatum et publice nuntiatum ac de heresi suspectum, contra mandata nostra, substinere presumit, ecclesiastico supponemus interdicto, et ad alia graviora remedia, de quibus expedire noverimus, procedere curabimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, Die XXVI februarii 1498, Pontificatus nostri anno VI.

Villari, Storia di Girolamo Savonarola, Vol. II, p. LXVI.

DOCUMENT 129.

Florence threatened with interdict the second time, by pope Alexander VI.

Nunquam putavimus eo deveniendum esse ut in rebus Hieronymi Savonarolae adeo insurgeretis ut in disputatione super executionem praeceptorum nostrorum quasi litem contestando veniretis. Vestrum enim est quae sunt Caesaris Caesari, quae sunt Dei Deo reddere ; gubernare vestram rempublicam, temporalem Statum dirigere ; rerum vero ecclesiasticarum curam nobis, quibus sinceram fidei obedientiam promisistis dimitteré, nostris praeceptis obtemperare, et qualiacumque a nobis in rebus ecclesiasticis praeciperentur, omni responsione et excusatione rejecta, effectui mancipare. Ita exigit vestra erga nos et hanc Sanctam Sedem consueta debitaque devotio, ita vos jusserunt antecessorum vestigia, ita postulant quae a nobis hoc tempore consequi desideratis. Jussimus ut aut Fratrem Hieronymum ad nos dirigeretis aut eum ita includeretis ut hominum commertio careat. Expectantes ex his alterum, habemus vestras litteras fucatis quibusdam, Hieronymo, ut credimus, auctore, rationibus coloratas, quibus opera multa et Sancta et devotionem in eum populi florentini, et periculum in eo cohercendo commemoratis. Nolumus in judicium intrare cum Servo nostro, neque rationibus respondere. Vilesceret enim auctoritas nostra, et epistolarum et brevium multiplicatione in infinitum procederetur. Hoc tam pro gravitate hujus Sancte Sedis dixerimus, quam pro peremptorio haberi a nobis volumus. Statuimus enim ulterius nil amplius in ista rescribere. De bono

opere non lapidamus Hieronymum. Si in populo florentino multa bona operatus est, letamur et optamus ut Deo bene juvante sua semina fructus habeant perpetuos bonorum hominum in eo credentium et eum imitantium devotionem in Domino commendamus. Neque eos scandalizare, ut vos timetis, ullatenus intendimus. Nostra omnis in hoc versatur intentio, ut Hieronymi Savonarolae petulantiam, superbiam, inobedientiam omni severitate ita compescamus, ut ad cor reversus et ad pedes nostros humiliatus veniam postulet. Quam quum petierit, scimus enim quod petet, et vobis impellentibus et clementer elargiemur et cor contritum et humiliatum non despiciemus. De bonis operibus eum commendabimus. Quaecumque a nobis, post errorum suorum veram emendationem, petierit auxilia, ut opera quae vobiscum coepit ad perseverantiam et incrementum firmentur et radicentur facillime concedemus et cuncta quae a nobis ad vestram aedificationem spiritualem et in consolationem devoti sui populi florentini petierit, utique se impetrasse laetabitur.

Non sit qui nos interroget quomodo et qualiter, quave ratione excommunicatus et nobis inobedientissimus habendus sit. Requirunt enim ista judiciariam telam, ut litterae nostrae quas sepius in forma brevis in hac causa ultro decrevimus discutiantur. Quapropter absente et per litteras ex integro fieri nequeunt. Hoc pro constantia habetote in verbo nostro, sine ulla excitatione Hieronymum nostra auctoritate excommunicatum esse et denuntiatum ex eo praesertim capite quod litteris nostris praecepimus ut se et conventum S. Marci, ubi moram trahit, uniret Congregationi duodecim Conventuum ordinis Praedicatorum quos invicem univimus et ad observantiam reduximus : nam praecepimus sub poena excommunicationis latae sententiae. Intimatum est ei breve per dilectum filium Matheum Ransinum, fratrem ordinis Praedicatorum, qui nobis et intimasse et cum Hieronymo hospitatum fuisse retulit. Non paruit Hieronymus, imo libellum scripsit in vituperium ejus unionis, ac si auctoritas sedis apostolicae nulla in eo intervenisset. Obmittimus quod sub simili poena ei praecepimus ut ad nos veniret, et aliis item litteris praecepimus ne praedicaret, ubique censuram de more apponi jussimus. Verum fretus ipse aura et favore populi florentini omnium credulissimi, neque unioni consensit neque ad nos venire curavit, neque a praedi-

catione abstinuit. Per quam iteratam inobedientiam in excommunicationis sententiam se soepius scienter implicavit, et celebrando irregularitatem incurrit, nostram et hujus Sanctae Sedis auctoritatem verbo, opere et exemplo inaudita arrogantia manifeste contemnens ut per priores nostras litteras intelligere potuistis. Quinimo insanire non desinens errores suos ad profundum malorum ducens, his diebus etiam in ecclesia cathedrali florentina soepius praedicare ausus est, ac si non solum excommunicatus non esset, sed a Deo tanquam angelus missus esset, nihil in sermonibus suis obmittens quae ad vilipendium censurarum nostrarum excogitare potuerit. Quod praedicaverit sciens se excommunicatum et publice nunciatum neque vos negatis, neque orator apud nos vester diffitetur. Hoc non sufficit ut hominis incorrigibilitatem et levitatem vestra populari aura nutritam omnes plane cognoscant, mirentur et damnent ? Magis et ad nauseam vel potius ad risum nos inducunt quae ab impressoribus vestris emanarunt : ubi sermones aut verius subsanationes ejus de verbo ad verbum transcriptae sunt, in quibus stupentibus nobis et pluribus ex fratribus nostris Sanctae Ecclesiae Cardinalibus, hominis levitatem compatientibus, Deum nostrum Omnipotentem Hieronymus rogat se ad infernum post mortem perpetuo tradi, si a nobis unquam solutionem petat ab his censuris quibus eum subjecimus, imo ipse nos suis deliramentis subjecit. Et impressoribus semiplene credimus, sed vidimus litteras proborum virorum qui sermonibus suis interfuerant, et nostris domesticis ita eum palam dixisse conscribunt, addentes eum dixisse non ligari in coelis quae nos contra ipsum decernimus in terris. Inviti et cum displicentia haec credimus, parati certe more Salvatoris nostre omnia audire et tollerare quae personam nostram concernunt, sed quae honorem et potestatem hujus Sanctae Sedis, cui divina Providentia praesidemus, tam acriter ulcerant, nunquam tollerabimus.

De Hieronymo qui sensu alieno ducitur vehementer miramur, de vobis autem qui ejus reipublicae gubernacula tenetis, non modo miramur et obstupescimus, imo juste conquerimur et ex vestra nimia tollerantia, ne dicamus favore illi praestito, ita turbamur ut quieturi non simus donec honorem hujus Sanctae Sedis tot modis a tenui isto vermiculo calore vestro ulceratum opportune consuluerimus (?). Curare vos omnino volumus (ut quae) in superioribus litteris vobis injunximus, effectum

sortiantur, penitus deponentes opinionem omni veritate carentem, qua existimare videmini rem hanc ad aliorum subgestionem nos persequi. Neque enim vestri aut Hieronymi aemulatores neque mens ulla erga vos sinistra nos movet, sed solum zelus honoris nostri, quem in ea re eo magnificamus quod propter hominem gregis nostri ecclesiastici obedientiam suis majoribus professum ita provocamur ac si a maximo quopiam potente mandato nostro aperta rebellione rebellaretur. Sermonibus Hieronymi populum vestrum non privavimus, ipse suis obstinationibus se privatum reddidit vestra audientia satis, quotiens a vobis publico edicto vetari obtinuerit, ne quis praeter cum evangelizaret populo vestro verbum Dei, volens unicus pro Appolineo quodam Florentinorum oraculo haberi satis. Quot celebres Evangelii praecones ab urbe vestra expulistis ut solum Hieronymum adorantes nec haberetur qui caeco populo suas fatuitates declararet satis in quolibet conventu florentino? Verbum Dei nunc declamari juvate alios praedicatores. Permittite ut quilibet offerat in horreo Domini quod potest, ferte patienter ut Hieronymi anathematizati lingua coherceatur, non quidem de perpetuo, sed donec post debitam humiliationem os ejus a nobis aperiatur. Consulite rebus vestris, et per interventum simplicis Fratris ne cadat, ut ajunt, musca in lac quod inter nos et vos bonis rationibus sensim coagulet. Sicuti enim in rebus nostram auctoritatem concernentibus obedientes eritis, ita erimus et nos proni et inclinati ad ea quae gratiositatem et commoda hujus vestrae reipublicae concernunt. Valete, nihil nobis super his per litteras sed operibus tantum respondentes; alioquin reiteratam inobedientiam vestram amplius non ferendam ulturi, totam civitatem Florentiae ecclesiastico interdicto incunctanter subjiciemus tamdiu duraturo quamdiu vestro isti monstruoso idolo favorem praestabitis.

Bibl. Marciana in Venice, Ms. Copied ap. Perrens, Jérome Savonarole, p. 369, and Aquarone, Vita di Jeronimo Savonarola, p. LXVI.

DOCUMENT 130.

Answer of pope Alexander VI to the repentant friars of San Marco.

Dilecti filii, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Quanto fuimus antea contristati ex inobedientia vestra, quae vos secutos superbiam et temeritatem perditionis filii Hieronymi Ferrariensis, usque ad mortem contumacis adversus mandata apostolica et superiorum vestrorum in pernitiem perduxerat, tanto nos postea salutem vestram exoptantes litterae vestrae quibus auxiliante Domino resipuisse intelligimus (laetificarunt), nam ad cor tandem reversi, pro paternis monitis nobis gratias egistis et vos fallaciis ipsius Fratris Hieronymi deceptos plane fatentes veniam petitis unionique Catholicorum reddi humillime supplicatis. Nimis diu ipse Frater Hieronymus animas vestras magnis erroribus irretitas tenuit, qui etsi erat vir callidissimus prophetae spiritum sibi impudentissime arrogans non debuit tamen plus apud vos valere quam protectoris et generalis vestri recta consilia, quam denique hujus Sanctae Apostolicae Sedis, quae veritatis magistra est, auctoritas. Sed ut errantes vos ad viam rectam revocare paterna charitate studuimus, ita conversos et poenitentes in gremio pietatis accipimus. Solet enim apostolica mansuetudo impietatem, non homines abhorrere et pravis resistere ut resipiscant. Litterae ipsae supplicibus verbis et duo Fratres ex vestris testantur pro erratis vos dolere ab intimis : quae res nos procliviores ad veniam reddidit. Estote igitur securi. Nunc istuc venit dilectus filius Joachim Ordinis vestri generalis Magister a Nobis destinatus, qui vos poenitentes et humiliter petentes auctoritate nostra excommunicationis vinculis et aliis poenis solvat, Catholicorum communioni restituat injunctaque poenitentia salutari, omnem inhabilitatis et infamiae maculam a vobis, prout supplicatis, abstergat, vobisque ubicumque oportuerit dispenset ; quae admodum per aliud breve nostrum sibi injunximus. Quod autem spectat ad Congregationem vestram ad quam multi nobilitate, divitiis et doctrina insignes religionis zelo, bene vivendi studio se, ut scribitis, contulerunt, cupimus illam et quae sunt sub Vicario Congregationis Tusciae coalescere ; nec vos ab istis conventibus vestris invitos distrahi patiemur, nisi de consilio senio-

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rum et discretorum vestrorum, sicut in ipso brevi praefato generali directo plenius continetur. Cum enim vicarius generalis Thusciae matura deliberatione rationalibusque de causis fuerit institutus, nec deceat membra discrepare a capite, sub illius cura recte poteritis Altissimo famulari. Superest ut diligenter cavere velitis ne quis in posterum vos seducat. Id autem facile assequemini si in obedientia praelatorum Ordinis et Apostolicae Sedis devotione non declinabitis. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die XIIII Maii MCCCCXCVIII. Pontificatus nostri A. VI.

Ms. of the Venetian Libr. of St. Mark, ap. Perrens, Jér. Savon., p. 397.

DOCUMENT 131.

Report of Joachim Turriano, Master General of the Dominican Order and of Francis Remolino J. U. D. to pope Alexander VI on Jerome Savonarola and his accomplices.

Beatissime Pater, humillimam post recommandationem ac pedum oscula beatorum. Quum peracto itinere, ut praeceptum erat, Florentiam venissemus, ubi maximo cum honore recepti fuerimus, et Breve Sanctitatis vestrae Reipublicae Florentinae dedissemus, statim ipsi Domini Florentini, uti bonos filios Ecclesiae decet, in manus nostras tradiderunt illos iniquitatis filios Fratrem Hieronymum Savonarolem Ferrariensem, Fratrem Silvestrum Florentinum et Fratrem Dominicum de Piscia, falso Ordinem profitentes S. Dominici. Sed ut statim exequeremur ea quae Sanctitas Vestra mandaverat, incepimus alterum post alterum suo ordine examinare et ea quae dicerent in trutina ponere, factoque hoc modo de omnibus examine, comperimus omnes ita in errores et haereses incidisse, ut nihil dici possit. Ante omnia Frater Hieronymus fassus est se per quatuordecim annos nunquam vere sed apparenter fuisse confessum, nec peccata sua, ut decet Christianos, enarrasse, et nihilominus, immo tanto magis rem divinam celebrasse, in nulloque periculo animam habendo, quam quotidie magis ac magis perdebat. Etiam dixit se dedisse operam ut et Frater Silvester et multi alii fratres ejusdem Ordinis in confessoria evaderent

audituri peccata et errata fidelium eaque — peccata, non peccatores — renuntiaturi ; quae, postquam ab illis resciverat, saepe publice praedicando, modo Secreto inter ratiocinandum et loquendum arguebat, et illa sibi divino quodam spiritu fuisse revelata simulabat ; tantaque scelera et detestanda flagitia perpetravit, ut ea nondum dicenda quidem videantur, quia tanti sceleris tantaeque temeritatis sunt : et his artibus quotidie huic Florentino populo maximum errorem incutiebat. Addidit deinde opera sua fuisse cives contra cives ad seditionem concitatos, atque adeo ut summa animi (auri?) et annonae penuria et proinde mortes pauperum, pluresque maxime nobilium civium caedes extiterint. Asseruit etiam (se) abusum fuisse sacramentis Ecclesiae alio modo et via quam religio expostulabat christiana. Accedit ad haec anni spatio Pontificatus excommunicationes non sit veritus sustinere, ita ut iterum rem divinam sacrificaverit, aliisque, excommunicationis sententia auctoritate apostolica damnatus, cum quibus communicare non poterat, scienter, praeparando (pertinaciter ?) Sacramentum corporis Christi ministraverit, non sine dedecore et ignominia censurae pontificiae et Sanctitatis Vestrae. Persuasisse etiam se multis excommunicatis, quamvis in articulo mortis constitutis, et per seipsum et per internuncios iteravit, ne absolutionem aliquam excommunicationis hujus a quopiam sacerdote vel Pontifice expeterent, falsis argumentis demonstrando Sanctitatem Vestram non habere potestatem excommunicationis ab Illa latae, nullum ligandi jus nullamque facultatem contra se obtinere : et si quis haec aliter existimaret, illum in horribilem haeresim et excommunicationis sententiam incidere confirmabat. Item confessus est se et per literas et per internuncios multos Christianorum principes ad schisma erigere voluisse contra Sanctitatem Vestram, quibus potuit machinis conspirare Sanctitati Vestrae et secreto et publice obloquendo. Sciat demum Sanctitas Vestra nos fratrem Hieronymum comperisse, ne dicam fratrum et hominum, sed omnipedum nequissimum, adeo erat omni scelere, omnibus vitiis inquinatus ; et si quid bonitatis in eo apparebat, illo se uti quodam fuco extrinsecus oblinibat, seque ad decipiendum componebat,— publice praedicasse, non ut Evangelium edoceret, sed ut, elatus superbia et allectus nominis cupiditate, compararet sibi gloriam saecularem. Adeoque in praedicando insolescebat, et quum aliquid portenti

diceret, ut fidem dictis adstrueret, se ad crucifixum convertebat illumque hoc modo appellatus : Si mentior ego, crucifixe, mentiris tu, qui haec mihi dicenda praecepisti. Omnia quae ipse temere expuebat, ad Christum crucifixum tanquam ad auctorem suarum ineptiarum referebat. Et haec et alia multa tanta scelera tantaque flagitia in homine invenimus, ut ea non solum ad scribendum manus reformidet, sed animus a cogitando abhorreat. Illud praecipue ad Sanctitatem Vestram scribere non praetermittimus quod Frater Dominicus inter praedicandum frequenter dicere audebat, potius angelos Christi et beatam Virginem de Coelo casuros quam quicquam a Fratre Hieronymo praedictum non adimplendum iri. Et ut fidem dictis adderet, Deum obtestabatur, si mentiretur, efficeret ut laqueo vitam finiret, et corpus redactum in cineres vento et imbribus traderet. Quomodo Deus terrae praestiterit cineres, qualemque ipsi contra se veluti praesagii futurae calamitatis sententiam tulerint quis est qui ignoret ? Ne modum epistolae excedamus, omittimus errores, quos Frater damnatus poterat in animo perverso inducere, quum volebat, corpore Christi sibi socio, ignem publicum insilire. Omittimus etiam fabularum portenta, quae illo tempore Frater Hieronymus publice contra Dei Ecclesiam et Sanctitatem Vestram evomebat. Tandem nefarii homines, postquam paucis admodum habitis quaestionibus, crimina quae confessi erant, ut moris est, reiterassent authentice et sponte ratificassent, fuerunt per sententiam nostram verbaliter et deinde per Rever. Dominum Vasionensem, servatis debitis solemnitatibus, actualiter degradati et omni privilegio clericali privati. Et successive eosdem Hieronymum, Silvestrum et Dominicum sic degradatos civibus saecularibus tradidimus, per quos hodie eodem instante mandati fuerint suspendi, deinde ignibus cremari, crematis quoque cadaveribus, cineres lectos in profluente immergi jusserunt, ne prophetiae Fratris Dominici aliquid deesse videretur. Haec etiam in publico maximo adstante populo facta. Laudem Deo reddentes et cum Psalmista cantantes : Laqueus contritus est, et nos liberati sumus, haec Sanctitati Vestrae scribimus, ut omnium quae acta sunt ordinem videat, cui Deus ad vota et felicem vitam et statum augere dignetur. Ex urbe Florentinensi, die XXIII May 1498.

Aquarone, Vita di Fra Jeronimo Savonarola, p. LXXIII ; Ms. in Libreria Boutourlin, in Firenze.

DOCUMENT 132.

A commission appointed to examine and declare the invalidity of the first marriage of King Louis XII.

Alexander episcopus Servus Servorum dei Venerabilibus fratribus Ludovico Albiensi et Fernando Sextensi Episcopis Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Humilibus supplicum praesertim regia dignitate polentium votis libenter annuimus, eaque favoribus prosequimur oportunis. Exponi siquidem nobis nuper fecit carissimus in Christo filius noster Ludovicus duodecimus rex francorum illustris quod olim eo existente duce Aurelianensi et in duodecimo vel circa suae aetatis anno constituto ac patre orbato, clarae memoriae Ludovicus tunc francorum rex undecimus nobilem mulierem quondam Mariam de Cleves ejusdem Ludovici moderni regis genitricem ut ipsum Ludovicum regem modernum cum dilecta in Christo filia nobili muliere Joanna de francia ejusdem Ludovici undecimi regis nata quae eidem Ludovico regi moderno quarto consanguinitatis gradu conjuncta et ad concipiendam prolem impotens erat prout adhuc existit, matrimonium contrahere faceret minis et terroribus compulit, et deinde matrimonium hujusmodi per eumdem Ludovicum modernum regem, quem dictus Ludovicus undecimus rex in humanis agens de sacro fonte levavit, cum eadem Joanna, nulla super quarti gradus consanguinitatis et quod ex levatione huiusmodi provenit cognationis spiritualis impedimentis dispensatione eis suffragante nulliter et de facto contracto et invalido existente, ac eodem Ludovico rege undecimo praefato Ludovico regi moderno effecto puberi ut ipse matrimonium cum praefata Joanna de novo contraheret praecipiente, ipse Ludovicus rex modernus propter minas et terrores sibi per eumdem Ludovicum regem undecimum et ejus parti illatos nimio mortis pavore ac alias per vim et metum qui cadere poterant in constantem virum compulsus, matrimonium cum eadem Joanna quanquam etiam super impedimentis hujusmodi cum eis ut prefertur per sedem apostolicam dispensatum non foret, de novo contraxit, et dicto Ludovico rege undecimo clarae memoriae Karolo etiam dum in humanis agebat Rege francorum ejusdem Joannae fratre relicto interim vita functo, postquam dictus Ludovicus modernus Rex ad Britanniae partes

se contulerat et hostiliter captus, ac per triennium vel circa carceribus detentus et tandem ab ipsis carceribus liberatus fuerat, ipse qui vi et metu praedictis durantibus per viginti quinque aut viginti sex annos vel circa eidem Joannae cohabitaverat, quique in eamdem Joannam mente et voluntate nunquam consenserat, dicto Karolo Rege vita functo et vi ac metu praedictis cessantibus contra hujusmodi matrimonium statim reclamavit. Quare pro parte dicti Ludovici Regis moderni nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum ut matrimonium hujusmodi nullum declarari mandare, aliasque praefato Ludovico moderno Regi et statui suo in praemissis opportune providere de benignitate apostolica dignaremur. Nobis igitur qui de praedictis certam notitiam non habemus hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati fraternitati vestrae, de qua in his et aliis specialem in domino fiduciam obtinemus, per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus conjunctim per vosmet ipsos ubicumque fueritis procedentes, vocatis dicta Joanna et aliis qui fuerint evocandi, de praemissis omnibus et singulis authoritate nostra vos diligenter informetis, et si per informationem eamdem vobis legitime constiterit quod dicti Ludovicus modernus rex et Joanna fuerint dicto quarto consanguinitatis gradu conjuncti, vel quod dictus Ludovicus rex undecimus dictum Ludovicum modernum Regem de sacro fonte levaverit nullaque dispensatio fuerit subsecuta, seu praefatus Ludovicus modernus Rex per vim et metum supradictum qui cadere poterat in constantem virum dictum matrimonium cum praefata Joanna contraxerit, visque et metus huiusmodi ad obitum praefati Regis Karoli ipsius Joannae fratris ac praefati Ludovici moderni Regis praedecessoris duraverit, aut praefatus Ludovicus modernus Rex per tempus a jure statutum praefatae Joannae cohabitaverit interim carnali copulae opem et operam dando efficaces, quodque dicta Joanna adeo maleficiata et impotens existat quod idem Ludovicus modernus Rex eam interim carnaliter intra claustrum pudoris cognoscere nullatenus potuit neque potest, aut de alio aliquo vitio (vero ?) impedimento propter quod inter ipsos Ludovicum modernum Regem et Joannam matrimonium canonice subsistere non potuit neque potest, matrimonium hujusmodi nullum fuisse et esse dicta authoritate declaretis, prout de jure fuerit faciendum, facientes quod quod declaraverunt (quidquid declaraveritis) per censuram ecclesiasticam firmiter observari. Et nihilominus

si declarationem huiusmodi per vos vigore praesentium fieri contigerit ut praefertur, eidem Ludovico moderno Regi cum alia muliere quam de jure poterit ducere in uxorem matrimonium alias rite contrahendi licentiam dicta auctoritate largiamini. Non obstantibus felicis recordationis Bonifacii papae octavi praedecessoris nostri, quibus cavetur ne quis extra civitatem suam et diocesim nisi in certis exceptis casibus et in illis ultra unam dietem a fine suae diocesis ad judicium evocetur, seu ne judices a sede deputati praedicta extra civitatem et diocesim in quibus deputati fuerint contra quoscumque procedere et alii vel aliis vices suas committendas praesumant et de duabus dietis in consilio generali edita, ac aliis constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis contrariis quibuscumque ; aut si praefatae Joannae vel quibusvis aliis communiter vel divisim ab eadem sit sede indultum quod interdici suspendi vel excommunicari aut extra vel ultra certa loca ad judicium trahi non possint per literas apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto hujusmodi mentionem. Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum Anno incarnationis dominicae Millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo octavo, tertio Kalendas Augusti, pontificatus nostri anno sexto.

(Sic signatum supra plicam) A. de Comitibus.

Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds français, n° 2711, f° 2v°.

DOCUMENT 133.

Cardinal Philip of Luxemburg also named a judge of Louis XII's first marriage.

Alexander Episcopus Servus servorum dei. Dilecto filio Philippo tituli Sanctorum Petri et Marcellini presbitero cardinali Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Exigit officii nostri debitum ut ad ea solicite intendamus per quae commissiones per nos in rebus praesertim gravibus factae cum magna maturitate examinari et examinatae tramite recto valeant terminari. Nuper siquidem a nobis emanarunt litterae tenoris subsequentis (Document 132). Cum autem cupiamus ut negotium hujusmodi de quo agitur propter rei magnitudinem debite et maturiori consilio procedat, quo a pluribus examinatum, cognitum deci-

sumve fuerit, Nos volentes quod causae hujusmodi etiam per te unacum dictis episcopis cognoscatur et decidatur, illius statum etiamsi in ea ad aliquos actus processum fuerit praesentibus pro expresso habentes Circumspectionem tuam, de qua in his et aliis specialem in domino fiduciam obtinemus, praefatis episcopis in cognitione et decisione causae hujusmodi authoritate apostolica tenore praesentium adiungimus, Mandantes tibique committentes ut una cum eis et ipsi una tecum etiam si ipsi iam in causa ipsa procedere cepissent in eo statu in quo reperietur ad cognitionem et decisionem dictae causae alias in omnibus et per omnia juxta dictarum litterarum formam et tenorem insimul procedatis perinde ac si tibi unacum dictis episcopis litterae praedictae a principio fuissent directae et dirigerentur, approbantes etiam et confirmantes omnia per dictos judices hactenus litterarum praedictarum vigore alias tamen rite gesta et quae interim forsan eos ante receptionem praesentium facere contigerit ac decernentes ex nunc irritum et inane quicquid secus super his a quoquam quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit actemptari. Non obstantibus praemissis ac constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis nec non omnibus illis quae in litteris praedictis volumus non obstare caeterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Datum Romae ap. S. P. Anno etc. Millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo octavo, pridie Kal. Sept. Pont. nri. anno septimo.

Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds fr. Cod. 2711, f° 22v°.

DOCUMENT 134.

Sentence of nullity of marriage between Louis XII and Jeane de Valois.

In nomine Sanctae et Individuae Trinitatis Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti Amen. Viso processu moto et pendente coram nobis Philippo tituli sanctorum Petri et Marcellini Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae presbitero cardinali de Lucemburgo Episcopo Cenomanensi, ac Ludovico Albiensi, et Fernando Septensi Episcopis judicibus a Sanctissimo in Christo patre et domino Alexandro divina providentia Papa Sexto in hac parte delegatis inter Christianissimum Ludovicum duodecimum franco-

rum Regem in causa nullitatis matrimonii actorem ex una et Illustrissimam dominam Joannam de francia ream partibus ex altera, rescriptis apostolicis nobis in hac parte directis, petitione domini actoris, exceptionibus peremptoriis et deffensionibus praedictae dominae reae, replicis eiusdem domini actoris, responsionibus eius ad petitiones eiusdem dominae reae super ipsis suis exceptionibus et deffensionibus in eius propria persona factis, testium pro parte praefati domini actoris productorum depositionibus, objectis reprobatoriis per ipsam dominam ream contra eosdem testes, et salvationibus domini actoris in contrarium datis litteris extractibus et munimentis hinc inde productis conclusione in causa, assignatione ad audiendum jus cum actis causae caeterisque visis et consideratis quae videnda et consideranda erant in hac parte, exquisito et communicato nobiscum reverendissimorum unius cardinalis, archiepiscoporum, episcoporum et litteratissimorum tam doctorum theologorum quam jurisperitorum in magno numero consilio, deliberatione provida, per hanc nostram sententiam deffinitivam, quam pro tribunali sedentes, solum deum ex cuius ore sedentis in trono procedit gladius bis acutus prae oculis habentes, fecimus, in his scriptis dicimus declaramus et pronuntiamus Matrimonium, inter ipsas partes contractum et de cujus viribus fuit in hoc judicio actum, non tenuisse aut tenere, sed fuisse et esse nullum nulliusque momenti obligationis vel efficaciae, nec obstare quominus cum alia matrimonium efficax in domino contrahere valeat praelibatus dominus actor, licentiam sibi de hoc faciendo quatenus opus esset concedendo et authoritate apostolica impartiendo prout concedimus et impartimur, causis mediis et rationibus in processu declaratis, ipsam dominam ream ab expensis damnis et interesse relevantes.

Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds fr. Cod. 2711, f° 105.

DOCUMENT 135.

Pope Alexander VI grants a plenary indulgence to all visiting the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, in the church of the Minerva.

Alexander etc. Universis Christifidelibus presentes literas inspecturis Salutem etc. Dum precelsa meritorum insignia quibus celorum Regina virgo dei genitrix gloriosa sedibus preclara

sidereis, quasi stella matutina prerutilat devote considerationis indagine perscrutamur, dum etiam intra pectoris arcana revolvimus quod ipsa utpote mater misericordie, mater gratie, pietatis amica et humani generis consolatrix, pro salute fidelium qui delictorum onere pregravantur sedula exoratrix et pervigil ad Regem quem genuit intercedit ; dignum quin potius debitum arbitramur ut capellas in honorem sui sacratissimi nominis dedicatas gratiosis remissionum prosequamur impendiis et indulgentiarum muneribus decoremus. Cupientes igitur ut Capella Annuntiationis beate Marie et Sancti Thome de Aquino in ecclesia Domus ejusdem Beate Marie Supra Minervam de Urbe Ordinis fratrum predicatorum per Venerabilem fratrem nostrum Oliverium Carapham Epum Sabinen. S. R. E. Cardinalem Neapolitanum ex sua pia erga eamdem virginem devotione de propriis bonis suis opere quidem sumptuoso fundata ac sufficienter dotata ornamentisque ecclesiasticis plurimum decorata, congruis frequentetur honoribus Christique fideles eo libentius devotionis causa ad eamdem Capellam confluant que ex hoc ibidem dono celestis gratie uberius conspexerint se refectos, de omnipotentis dei misericordia et beatorum petri et pauli apostolorum ejus auctoritate confisi, omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus Christi fidelibus vere penitentibus et confessis qui capellam predictam, ad quam Nos personaliter pro nostra devotione accessimus, in Nativitatis ejusdem beate Marie et ipsius sancti Thome festivitatibus a primis Vesperis usque ad occasum solis diei sequentis singularum festivitatum earumdem devote visitaverint annuatim plenariam omnium suorum peccatorum de quibus corde contriti et ore confessi fuerint indulgentiam et remissionem auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium elargimur : presentibus perpetuis temporibus valituris. Datum Rome apud sanctum petrum, Anno etc. Mccccl xxxx tertio quartodecimo Kl. Junii Pont. nri. Anno primo.

Gratis de mandato etc.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar. An. I. Tom. V, Regest. 776, fo 37vo.

DOCUMENT 136.

Pope Alexander VI forbids mutual condemnation of preachers on the Conception of the Blessed Virgin.

Alexander etc. Ad futuram rei memoriam. Illius qui se pro Dominici gregis salvatione in pretium immolari non abnuit vices quamquam immeriti gerentes in terris, circa ipsius excubias gregis nos solicitis congruit vigilias intendere, ne contagiosos depascant fenitus, et nimia curiositas superstitionem et superstitio errores et scandala parturiant, et ea quae ad occurrendum erroribus et scandalis hujusmodi per praedecessores nostros salubriter ordinata sunt, quibusvis sublatis impedimentis, firmiter observentur. Dudum siquidem a felicis recordationis Sixto Papa IV praedecessore nostro litterae emanarunt tenoris subsequentis : Sixtus etc. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Grave nimis etc. Cum autem, sicut non sine animi molestia accepimus, nonnulli diversorum ordinum religiosi, effectum litterarum praedictarum forsan ignorantes aut illas temerariis ausibus contempnentes, in suis sermonibus et praedicationibus ad populum et alias publice per diversas civitates et terras varias opiniones circa contenta in eisdem litteris, contra earum tenorem in medium proponere, et quidam unum, alii vero reliquum affirmare non erubescant, ex quibus in populo variae opiniones imprimuntur et scandala non modica generantur, Nos, ad quos ex debito pastoralis officii pertinet a Sancta Dei Ecclesia, quantum nobis ex alto conceditur, scandala removere, volentes scandalis hujusmodi, ut tenemur, opportunis remediis occurrere, Motu proprio, non ad alicujus super hoc nobis oblatae petitionis instantiam sed de nostra mera deliberatione et certa nostra scientia, auctoritate apostolica, tenore presentium decernimus et declaramus praeinsertas litteras ac omnia et singula in eis contenta perpetuis futuris temporibus, donec per Sedem Apostolicam aliter decisum et ordinatum fuerit, inviolabiliter observari debere. Quocirca universis et singulis Patriarchis, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis et aliis locorum Ordinariis et ecclesiarum Praelatis et Abbatibus et personis aliis in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutis, in virtute sanctae obedientiae

et sub excommunicationis paena districte praecipiendo mandamus quatenus ipsi et quilibet ex eis per se vel per alium seu alios litteras praedictas ubi et quando expedire cognoverint et quoties super hoc fuerint requisiti, solemniter publicantes faciant auctoritate nostra litteras ipsas ac in eis contenta inviolabiliter observari ; contradictores quoslibet et rebelles, cujuscumque dignitatis, status, gradus vel conditionis existentes, etiamsi Mendicantium Ordinum quorumcumque, etiam de Observantia nuncupatorum, praelati, ministri aut alii fratres fuerint, per excommunicationis ac alias sententias, censuras et paenas ecclesiasticas et alia oportuna juris remedia, appellatione postposita, compescendo ; invocato ad hoc etiam, si opus fuerit, auxilio brachii secularis. Et nihilominus omnes et singulos quos dictam excommunicationis sententiam eis incurrisse constiterit et eorum quemlibet in ecclesiis, dum major inibi populi multitudo ad divina convenerit, excommunicatos publice nuntient et faciant ab aliis nuntiari, ac ab omnibus arctius evitari, donec ad cor reversi et paenitentia ducti, ab hujusmodi excommunicationis sententia beneficium absolutionis ab eadem Sede meruerint obtinere ; ac, legitimis super his habendis servatis processibus, sententias, censuras et paenas hujusmodi, quoties opus fuerit, iteratis vicibus aggravare procurent. Non obstantibus etc. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicae 1502. X. Kalendas Martii. Pontificatus nostri anno XI.

Munich, Königl. Reichsarchiv, 33. A. a. j-ii : a " Vidimus " by Petrus de Vincentia, Bp. of Cesena, of the last of Sept. 1503.

DOCUMENT 137.

Both Dominicans and Franciscans forbidden to speak of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin before lay people.

Oliverius miseratione divina Ep^us^ Sabinen. Sacre Ordinis Predicatorum Protector et

Georgius eadem miseratione Ep^us^ Albanen. Ordinisque Minorum Vice-protector, S. R. E. Cardinales Commissarii specialiter electi et deputati ad infrascripta oraculo vive vocis a S^mo^ in

Christo Patre et D. N. Dno. Alexandro divina Providentia Papa Sexto.

Universis et singulis Prioribus, Provincialibus et Conventualibus ejusdem Predicatorum Ordinis ; Ministris Provincialibus, Custodibus, Guardianis ejusdem Ordinis Minorum, Vicariis quibuscumque, Praesidentibus, Magistris, Predicatoribus et Fratribus eorumdem Ordinum in partibus Alemanie Salutem in Dno. sempiternam et nostris hujusmodi, imo verius apostolicis, firmiter obedire mandatis.

Pro humani redemptione generis de summis Coelorum sedibus ad hunc mundum descendens Dei filius Jesus Christus pacem apostolis praedicavit, et illam populis praedicandam eosdem delegavit, disponens sua misericordia sibi subditos fore pacificos et modestos. Propter quod S. R. E. statum et regularem vivendi modum vestrarum Religionum approbans, eas in adjutorium hujusmodi predicationis assumpsit. Verum quia inimicus homo superseminavit zizaniam et in mordaces et scandalosas dicacitates Evangelium pacis convertistis, nec provisio facta per fel. record, Sixtum Papam 4^m^ super hoc multos vestrum a male ceptis sermonibus retraxerit ; Volentes prefati S^mi^ D. N. Alexandri jussa complere, discordias sedare, scandala tollere, predicationisque officium ab injuriis, contumeliis, detractionibus et oblocutionibus liberum reddere, Auctoritate apostolica, oraculo vive vocis, consistorialiter nobis in hac parte specialiter commissa, Anno Dni. 1502 die 6 februarii, Tenore presentium statuimus, precipimus et mandamus cum inhibitio facta a predicto fel. record. Papa Sixto, videlicet, quod neutra pars damnetur, scilicet eorum qui B. Virginem in peccato originali conceptam asserunt et eorum qui a peccato originali ex speciali gratia preservatam affirmant, quod nullus audeat asserere reos esse heresis aut mortalis criminis qui alteram predictarum opinionum sequitur, sub excommunicationis latae sententiae paena integre et inviolabiliter observetur ; adjicientes et praecipientes vobis omnibus et singulis sub eisdem censuris et paenis et sub interminatione damnationis eternae, nec non sub paena privationis officii praedicandi, quatenus de caetero nullus vestrum directe vel indirecte praedicet, aut praedicare faciat, vel quomodolibet aliter sermonem ad populum habeat de Conceptione B. Virginis Mariae, volentes silentium totaliter coram laicis de hac materia observari, quod

vobis omnibus et singulis presentium tenore indicimus, et sub eisdem censuris indictum vobis et denunciatum declaramus. Et quoniam Praelati vestrarum Religionum hactenus experientia teste negligentes fuerunt in corrigendo excessus hujusmodi, eadem Auctoritate apostolica committimus, et districte praecipiendo mandamus per presentes locorum Ordinariis ut eos qui contra praedicta vel predictorum aliquid inobedientes his nostris, imo verius Apostolicis mandatis fuerint, puniant, excommunicatos declarent et contra eos procedant, tanquam contra Apostatas ipsarum Religionum procedendum esset. Non-obstantibus privilegiis et exemptionibus dictorum Ordinum, quibus hac vice et in hoc casu dumtaxat derogatum esse denunciamus. In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium premissorum, presentes literas fieri fecimus sigillorumque nostrorum appensione munitas etc. Datum Rome in Aedibus Residentiarum nostrarum Anno Incarn. Dnce. 1502, die vero ultima Mensis Martii, Pontificatus praefati S^mi^ in Christo Patris et D. N. Dni. Alexandri Divina provid^a^. Papae Sexti Anno X^mo^.

Jo. Bapta de Mandato Ss.
Laurentius Bochatius de Mandato S.

Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII, 147.

DOCUMENT 138.

Highways to be kept safe for pilgrims to Rome.

Alexander etc. Ad futuram etc. Inter cetera que nobis ex apostolatus officio incumbere cernimus et quorum nos cura solicitat, circa illa potissime vigil dirigitur nostre mentis affectus per que christifideles qui precipue hoc sacro jubilei anno instante ex diversis mundi partibus ad almam urbem Romanamque curiam pro consequendis indulgentiis a Romanis pontificibus predecessoribus nostris et nobis pro expurgatione peccatorum concessis, non sine varium discrimine et personarum suarum periculis in numero confluunt copioso, secure et quiete absque aliqua predonum latronum et perversorum ac nefandorum hominum qui hostis generis humani suggestione seducti peregrinos et alios Romipetas in viis publicis et aliis locis

spoliare invadere et etiam crudeliter vulneribus afficere ac plerumque atrociter interficere non perhorrescunt, invasione aut periculo veniendo et redeundo pertransire possint, valeat salubriter provideri. Ad aures siquidem nostras, quod dolenter referimus, pervenit quod nonnulli peregrini et Romipete et alii ad Urbem et curiam predictas tam pro indulgentiis hujusmodi consequendis quam etiam aliis eorum negotiis pertractandis venientes seu inde recedentes pecuniis et aliis que secum deferebant rebus et bonis spoliati ac aliqui etiam interfecti fuerunt, quod in nostrum et Sedis apostolice maximum prejudicium et christifidelium populorum Sedem ipsam visitare cupientium devotionis diminutionem redundare posset, nisi premissis per eos ad quos pertinet per oportuna provisionis remedia obvietur. Nos igitur quibus in persona beati petri a dno. dictum est : Tu es petrus et super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam, Pasce oves meas, et ad quos spectat premissis periculis obviare, cupientes ut debemus ut peregrini Romipete et alii predicti ubique locorum presertim et civitatibus territoriis et districtibus civitatum terrarum castrorum et locorum nostro et Ro. Ecclesie temporali dominio aut alias mediate vel immediate subjectorum tute et secure pertransire valeant de oportuno remedio providere, Motu proprio non ad alterius nobis super hoc oblate petitionis instantiam, sed de nostra mera deliberatione et ex certa nostra scientia, Universos et singulos Gubernatores Rectores et Vicarios in temporalibus nostros et ejusdem Ecclesie barones et feudatarios, Communitates et Universitates civitatum terrarum castrorum villarum et locorum nostro et dicte Ro. Ecclesie temporali dominio hujusmodi mediate vel immediate subjectorum, necnon Ducatus, Marchionatus, communitates civitates terras castra villas et loca quecumque a dicta Ecclesia quocunque titulo mediate vel immediate obtinentes tenore presentium requirimus et monemus, eisque et cuilibet eorum in virtute sancte obedientie sub excommunicationis in singulos et interdicti ecclesiastici in communitates et universitates late sententie penis, districte precipiendo mandamus quatenus ipsi et eorum singuli in eorum provinciis territoriis communitatibus et districtibus Barisellos seu marescallos aut alios officiales et commissarios qui continue precipue anno presenti jubilei durante die noctuque ac quotiens expediens fuerit vias et stratas ac alia eorum loca per que Romipete et peregrini predicti ac alii

quicunque transire, necnon etiam hospitia et receptacula in viis et stratis publicis seu aliis locis existentia in quibus ipsi hospitantur seu divertunt aut hospitari vel divertere solent solicite visitent et custodiant deputare, aut alias taliter de oportuno remedio providere, et eorum provincias territoria districtus communitates et loca tuta et secura ab omni predonum et latronum et aliorum facinorosorum hujusmodi hominum periculo facere manutenere et custodire procurent quod peregrini Romipete et alii predicti per illa venire stare transire ire et redire ac in illis libere hospitari valeant. Et si, quod absit, aliqui in provinciis territoriis communitatibus locis et districtibus predictis spoliati depredati aut alias in persona vel bonis injuriati vel injuriam passi vel offensi reperirentur, Volumus et apostolica auctoritate motu simili decernimus quod Gubernator Rector et Vicarius in temporalibus et feudatarius communitas et universitas, Ducatus Marchionatus Comitatus terre civitates castra ville et loci in cujus provincia territorio comitatu vel districtu depredatio spoliatio invasio et injuria hujusmodi fierent per predictos latrones predones et injuriatores et facinorosos, ac ultra penas et censuras contra tales per constitutiones provinciales statutas ad emendam damni et bonorum ac rerum ablatarum restitutionem necnon totale eorum interesse teneantur, et adversus eos ad alias et graviores penas si id exequi et implere neglexerint exigente justitia irremissibiliter procedemus. Si vero Gubernator, rector, vicarius, feudatarius communitas et universitas prefati damna et interesse hujusmodi respective absque aliqua monitione restituere et damnum passis eo ipso emendare neglexerint seu distulerint, Volumus et ita tenore presentium Gubernatori alme Urbis nostre presidentibusque et Camere apostolice clericis, pro quanto gratiam nostram caram habent, stricte precipiendo mandamus ut ad simplicem requisitionem et querelam spoliati offensi et damnum passi, facta tamen prius aliquali fide de spolio offensione et damnis hujusmodi, seu si ad eorum notitiam aliter pervenerit, quamprimum adversus gubernatorem rectorem feudatarium vicarium communitatem et universitatem in cujus territorio ut premittitur spolium offensam et damnum illata fuisse perceperint censuras ecclesiasticas quascunque et represalias et alias quascunque graviores penas tam reales quam personales usque ad privationem inclusive et ad illarum executiones fieri et exequi faciant

cum effectu, usque ad totalem et integram satisfactionem damni expensarum et interesse predictorum. Non obstantibus etc. Datum Rome apud S. Petrum Anno etc. MCCCCLXXXX nono (According to the Florentine style — 1500), nono Kl. Martii, pont. nri. anno octavo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. De Curia, an. I ad X. T. I, Regest. 874, f° 32vo ; A very incorrect copy is to be found ap. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 16.

DOCUMENT 139.

The Diet of Nuremberg accepts the Pope's condition, and allows the publication of the Jubilee in Germany.

Nos locumtenens Regie Maiestatis et Senatus Romani Imperii Audivimus ex R^{mo} in Chro. patre dno. Raymundo tti Sancte Marie Nove pbro. Cardinale Gurcen. Aplice. Sedis ad Germaniam Legato quantum sit desiderium Sanctissimi dnii nri pape ac R^{morum} d. cardinalium ut per universos Principatus ac Potentatus ac cristianos suscipiatur bellum generale contra perfidissimos Turcos et quod prefatus sanctissimus d. nr. Papa de consilio et consensu R^{morum} d. Cardinalium per totam Germaniam decreverit proponi Jubileum et multas indulgencias publicari, ad effectum ut pecunie que dabuntur per Christifideles causa consequendi jubileum et indulgencias huiusmodi exponantur solum in usum belli contra ipsos Turcos gerendi, et quod interea pecunia conservetur integra et illesa neque aliquo modo tangi debeat quousque in dictum usum belli gerendi contra Turcos exponetur, et vidimus originalem instructionem per prefatum Sanctissimum dnm. nrm. datam super premissis eidem Cardinali Legato annulo Piscatoris signatam. Quod cum nobis fuerit jocundissimum auditu omnes unanimiter consensimus ut idem Carl^{lis} Legatus dictum jubileum Nuremberge publicaret et per alias Germanie Terras publicari faceret. Et cum optemus eundem d. Legatum optimo animo insistere publicationi jubilei et indulgenciarum, tenore presencium de consensu tocius Conventus Imperii promittimus prefato R^{mo} d. Carl^{i} Legato quod bona fide conservabimus omnem pecuniam de jubileo et indulgenciis per dictum d. Legatum publicatis ac

publicandis colligendam ac nobis presentatam et nunquam illam tangemus neque tangi permittemus nisi in expedicionem contra Turcos, excepta tercia parte predictarum pecuniarum in usum dicti R^mi d. Legati aliorumque necessariorum juxta tenorem Articulorum inter d. Legatum et Senatum prenominatos conclusorum, et in conclusionibus Senatus et Conventus Imperii positorum. In quorum fidem et testimonium omnium promissorum presentes nras. litteras sigillis Illt^rium et R^morum Venerabilium ac Nobilium principum Episcoporum et Virorum videlicet Joannis Kuchemneysters doctoris R^mi archiepi. Moguntini, oratoris Domini Ludovici filii Ill^mi Comitis Palatini loco genitoris sui, Dni. Gabrielis Epi. Eysteten, Dni. Henrici Abbatis Si Cornelii Ordinis Sancti Benedicti Colomen, laicorum Wolfgangi de Aheim equitis Aurati, Johannis vom Jungen Mgri. civium imperialis opidi francfurden. fecimus nomine nostro ac tocius Senatus muniri. Date in opido Imperiali Nurembergen. Undecima die mensis Septembris Anno Dni. Milesimo quingentesimo primo.

Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv. Cod. M. M. f° 68vo.

DOCUMENT 140.

Maximilian encourages the Jubilee publication, but claims its revenues.

Maximilianus — To the cardinal legate Pérault — R^me pr. Amice char^me..... Et postquam tanta est instantia principum et populi pro jubilaeo publicando, contenti sumus ut non ulterius moretur gratiam hanc populo, sed eam publicet ubique, prout sibi magis oportunum videbitur. De pecuniis autem inde provenientibus scribimus consiliariis nostris qui erunt cum R^ma D. V. ut declarent principibus Nos velle suscipere expeditionem contra Turchos, ideo prefatas pecunias debere ad manus nostras pervenire, ut in illos usus expeditionis in Turcos exponantur... Datum in lintz 22 novembr. 1501.

Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchivs. Maximiliana, 1501, Nov. 22 — Concept.

DOCUMENT 141.

Alfonso, King of Naples, takes the protection of cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, in his contract with the Pope.

In nomine Domini Amen : Anno ab ejus salutifera nativitate Millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo quarto, Indit. XII, die vero vigesima octava mensis Martii, Pont. Sanctmi in Chro. patris et domini nri. Domini Alexandri divina favente clementia Pape VI anno secundo... Sanctissimus dnus. nr. prefatus... et Sermus dmus. Rex Alfonsus... ad infrascripta capitula, conventiones... devenerunt, que capitula pro faciliori et clariori intelligentia, de earumdem partium consensu et voluntate moderno sunt descripta sermone, et sunt hec, videlicet.... Item, Che in questi tractati et assettamenti se intenda et includa lo acconcio del Rmo cardinale de San Piero ad Vincula, Et dicta Sta da mo li fa piena reintegratione et lo restituisce in pristinum ad tucte le cose sue, con conservatione de indulti ecclesiastici bolle et brevi et cose allui concesse per la prefata Sta et confirmatione de le gratie allui concesse per li altri pontifici. La qual Sta lo habia ad havere in sua bona gratia et tractarlo honorevolmente da bon Carle, et pigliarlo in sua protectione, servendo lui etiam fidelmente alla sua beatne et alla Chiesa, ut bonum cardinalem decet, et non invocare cosa alcuna ne allui ne al Prefecto, suo fratello, ne in Stato ne in le persone : Et senne expedirano le scripture necessarie ad ogni requisitione del dicto Carle, o de altrui per sua parte, venendo Sua Sria personalmente in Roma...

Archiv. Cast. S. Angeli, Armar. 2. Caps. 5, n. 39 gg : an original parchment.

DOCUMENT 142.

Absolution and Reinstatement of cardinal Ascanio Maria Sforza.

Alexander etc. Dilecto filio Ascanio Marie Sancti Viti in macello martirum Diacono Cardinali Sancte Romane ecclesie Vicecancellario Salutem etc. Ad personam tuam ingenii clari-

tate et generis Nobilitate conspicuam pollentem meritis et virtutibus insignitam quam multiplicium gratiarum muneribus illustravit altissimus paterne considerationis intuitum dirigentes illa tibi libenter concedimus per que statui et indemnitatibus tuis salubriter consolatur. Sane sicut accepimus tu qui de Romana Curia superiori proxima estate etiam forsan sine nostra licentia discessisti et postquam nos omnes et singulos curiales dicte curie etiam cardinales ut infra certum tempus tunc expressum ad eamdem Curiam redire deberent sub nonnullis penis tunc expressis per quasdam nostras litteras monuimus et mandavimus eisdem infra dictum terminum ut ad ipsam Curiam redire non tenereris et extra illam pro tua voluntate quamdiu tibi placeret permanere valeres et in dictis monitione et mandato ac litteris nostris non comprehendereris et non redeundo penas predictas in litteris ipsis contentas non incurreres tibi per nos concedi obtinuisti, et pro eo quia ut asseritur apud eos qui mandatis nostris predictis non paruerant nobisque rebelles et inobedientes fuerunt permansisti, et forsan eis ut in eorum inobedientia et rebellione persisterent, et Arcem nostram Ostiensem occuparent, territorium Alme urbis hostiliter invaderent ac alias diversimode prestitisti et per ad tua stipendia militantes prestari fecisti auxilium consilium et favorem, dubitas aliquas censuras et penas incurrisse, Nos ad singularem prudentiam maturitatem consilii et in agendis experientiam atque alia virtutum dona quibus personam tuam in nostris et Romane ecclesie negotiis fideli experientia testimonium perhibente novimus insignitam, grandia quoque illius merita debitum respectum habentes, Motu proprio, non ad tuam vel alterius pro te Nobis super hoc oblate petitionis instantiam sed de nostra mera liberalitate et ex certa nostra scientia ac de apostolice potestatis plenitudine te ac omnes et singulos qui post tuum a dicta Curia recessum predictum ad tua stipendia militarunt aut alias tuis institerunt obsequiis seu in premissis et aliis quibuslibet excessibus criminibus et delictis etiam contra Nos et prefatam ecclesiam commissis verbo aut facto et alias qualitercunque que etiam lese maiestatis crimen sapere directe vel indirecte censeri quomodolibet possent tui complices qualitercunque fuerunt et censeri possunt, cuiuscunque status gradus ordinis et conditionis existant et quacunque ecclesiastica et mundana dignitate prefulgeant, ab omnibus et singulis

excessibus criminibus et delictis predictis et aliis quibuslibet per te et illos communiter vel divisim quomodocunque et qualitercunque commissis et perpetratis usque in presentem diem, que hic volumus pro nominatim specificatis haberi, ac provenientibus exinde censuris et penis ecclesiasticis et temporalibus auctoritate apostolica presentium tenore absolvimus et liberamus, et super irregularitate si quam tu et alii prefati qui ecclesiastici sunt vel aliqui eorum huiusmodi censuris ligati Missas et alia divina officia celebrando aut alias illis se inmiscendo contraxistis motu scientia potestate et auctoritate predictis dispensamus abolemusque omnem inhabilitatis et infamie maculam per te et illos vel aliquem eorum premissorum occasione contractam, teque et illos ac quemlibet vestrum in pristinum et eum innocentie statum in quo quomodolibet eratis antequam premissa perpetrarentur, nec non ad ecclesias cathedrales et metropolitanas, Monasteria prioratus preposituras prepositatus dignitates personatus administrationes et officia canonicatus et prebendas in cathedralibus etiam metropolitanis post pontificales maiores aut Collegiatis ecclesiis principales, dictique prioratus prepositure et prepositatus conventuales et officia claustralia fuerint, et ad dignitates personatus administrationes vel officia huiusmodi consueverint qui per electionem assumi, eisque cura immineat animarum, et alia quecunque beneficia ecclesiastica secularia et cuiusvis ordinis regularia que tu vel aliqui eorum antequam premissa committebantur in titulum vel commendam seu administrationem vel alias quomodolibet obtinebatis, necnon pensiones super ecclesiasticis proventibus assignatas quas percipiebatis ac bona quecunque etiam patrimonialia et per ecclesiastica beneficia acquisita, privilegia quoque immunitates gratias prerogativas et quaslibet alias litteras civitatum et aliorum castrorum que ab ecclesia Romana tunc tu vel illi habebatis, et ad vicecancellariatus et legationis officii in quibus tu et cardinalatus dignitates in quibus tam tu quam aliqui complicum predictorum tunc forsan constituti eratis prefatis motu scientia auctoritate et potestate restituimus reponimus et plenarie reintegramus... Volumus autem omnia et singula premissa tibi tamdiu suffragari quamdiu in fide obedientia et devotione nostra ac Sancte Sedis apostolice perstiteris, quemadmodum bonum et fidelem Cardinalem decet de iure et ratione. Nulli ergo etc. Si quis etc. Dat. Rome apud

Sanctum petrum Anno etc. Mcccclxxxx (St. flor.) quarto, Pridie Kal. februarii Pontificatus nostri Anno Tertio.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I, II, III. Lib. III, Regest. 869, f° 246v°.

DOCUMENT 143.

Pardon and reinstatement of the cardinals and of the barons Colonna and Savelli.

Alexander etc. Dilectis filiis Johanni Baptiste Sancti Nicolai in Carceretulliano et Johanni Sancte Marie in Aquiro Diaconibus Cardinalibus Salt. etc. Intenta salutis operibus apostolice sedis circumspecta benignitas potestatis sibi indulte plenitudine quam non ab homine obtinet sed a deo erga personas dicte sedi devotas interdum utitur sicut personarum earumdem, rerum et temporum qualitate et conditione pensatis in dno. conspicit salubriter expedire. Sane sicut accepimus Vos qui de Romana curia superiori proxima estate cum ea que in festo beatorum Apostolorum petri et pauli de mense Junii per Roman. Pontifices generaliter Cardinalibus et aliis Curialibus dari consuevit licentia discessistis, et postquam nos omnes et singulos curiales ut infra certum tempus tunc expressum ad eamdem curiam redire deberent sub nonnuliis censuris et penis tunc expressis per quasdam nostras literas ac alias monuimus et mandavimus eisdem monitionibus et mandatis predictis, in licentia predicta confidentes non paruistis et propterea ac etiam quia ut a nonnullis asseritur, apud dilectos filios Nobiles viros Fabricium et Prosperum de Columna, necnon Antonellum et Troianum ac Troilum de Sabellis, nec non Jeronimum de Estoutevilla Domicellos Roman. quos ex certis causis tunc expressis Roman. ecclie. rebelles declaraveramus cum bonorum eorumdem confiscatione et alios qui mandatis nostris non paruerant ac nobis et prefate ecclesie rebelles fuerant permansistis, et ut in eorum inobedientia et rebellione persisterent et Arcem Ostie occuparent Territorium Alme Urbis invaderent ac alias diversimode prestitistis et per alios vobis subditos vassallos ac consanguineos et ad vestra stipendia militantes ac amicos familiares et servitores vestros prestari fecistis

diversimode auxilium consilium et favorem, dubitatisque predictos et alios in taliter facientes censuras et penas propterea incurrisse et postmodum cum in sequendo Capitula inter nos et carissimum in Xro filium nostrum Carolum francorum Regem christianissimum inita, vos promiseritis quod eritis nobis boni fideles et obedientes quemadmodum debent facere boni cardinales de jure et ratione. Nos qui illius in terris vices gerimus qui misericordie magister existens cunctos querit salvos facere et neminem vult perire ejus vestigia quantum nobis ex alto conceditur sequi volentes et ad singularem prudentiam maturitatem consilii et in agendis experientiam atque alia virtutum dona quibus vestras et Domicellorum predictorum personas in nris. et Roman. Ecclesie negociis fideli experientia testimonium perhibente novimus insignitas Nobilitatem generis grandia quoque vestra et illorum merita debitum respectum habentes, Motu proprio non ad vestram et dictorum Domicellorum aut alterius pro vobis et illis nobis super hoc oblate petitionis instantiam sed de nostra mera liberalitate et ex certa nostra scientia ac de apostolice potestatis plenitudine, Vos et Domicellos prefatos ac vassallos, capellanos familiares et domesticos et servitores vestros et eorumdem Domicellorum et qui post vestrum a dicta Curia recessum ad vestra et eorumdem Domicellorum stipendia militarunt aut vestris et Domicellorum predictorum aut alicujus eorum obsequiis quomodolibet institerunt seu in premissis et aliis quibuslibet excessibus criminibus et delictis etiam contra nos et prefatam ecclesiam commissis et perpetratis etiam que lese majestatis crimine directe vel indirecte censeri quomodolibet possent, vos et eorumdem domicellorum aut alicujus eorum complices qualitercumque fuerunt, cujuscumque status gradus ordinis et conditionis existant et quacumque ecclesiastica etiam Episcopali et majori, ac mundana etiam Principali Ducalique dignitate et Nobilitate prefulgeant, ab omnibus et singulis excessibus criminibus et delictis predictis et aliis quibuslibet quantuncumque gravibus per vos et Domicellos ac alios predictos communiter vel divisim quomodocumque et qualitercumque commissis et perpetratis usque in presentem diem, que volumus hic haberi pro nominatim expressis et debite specificatis, ac provenientibus inde penis ecclesiasticis et temporalibus presertim in dictis literis et quibuslibet sententiis diffidationibus et bannis contra Domicellos

et alios predictos per nos vel auctoritate nostra aut alia etiam cum bonorum eorumdem confiscatione qualitercumque latis et promulgatis contentos auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium absolvimus et liberamus, et super irregularitate si quam vos capellani et alii absoluti prefati ecclesiastici Missas et alia divina officia celebrando aut illis alias se immiscendo contraxistis, motu scientia auctoritate et potestate predictis dispensamus abolemusque omnem inhabilitatis et infamie maculam per vos, Domicellos et alios absolutos prefatos tam clericos quam seculares premissorum occasione contractam ac vos et eosdem domicellos ac alios absolutos predictos et quemlibet eorum in pristinum et eum innocentie statum in quo vos quomodolibet eratis et illi erant antequam premissa excessus et crimina perpetrarentur, Necnon ad Sancti Nicolai in carcere-tulliano et Sancte Marie in Aquiro de Urbe ac Cathedrales etiam Metropolitanas ecclesias, Monasteria Prioratus Preposituras Prepositatus dignitates etiam majores et principales personatus administrationes et officia, canonicatus et prebendas in Cathedralibus et Metropolitanis et Patriarchalibus etiam Urbis et Collegiatis ecclesiis etiam si ad dignitates personatus administrationes vel officia haberi consueverint qui per electionem assumi eisque cura immineat animarum, et prioratus prepositure et prepositatus conventuales ac monasteria ex hiis de quibus consistorialiter per sedem apostolicam solitum est provideri et officia hujusmodi claustralia fuerint eisque cura etiam immineat animarum et alia quecumque beneficia ecclesiastica cum cura et sine cura secularia et regularia que vos capellani et familiares vestri et alii quicumque ecclesiastici in absolutione predicta comprehensi antequam premissa crimina committerentur in titulum vel commendam aut administrationem obtinebatis aut aliqui absolutorum predictorum obtinebant que omnia cum suis qualitatibus et fructibus volumus hic pro debite specificatis haberi, necnon ad bona quecumque etiam patrimonialia et etiam per ecclesias et ecclesiastica beneficia acquisita que vos domicelli et alii in hmoi. absolutione comprehensi habebatis etiam confiscata et alienata et Cardinalatus in quo vos, et alias dignitates seculares in quibus domicelli et tam seculares quam ecclesiasticas in quibus alii absoluti predicti respective quomodolibet tunc constituti eratis et illi erant, eisdem motu scientia auctoritate et potestate restituimus repo-

nimus et plenarie reintegramus ac te Johannem Baptistam Sancti Nicolai in Carcere Tulliano et Johannem Sancte Marie in Aquiro que vestri cardinalatus denominationes existunt, et Reatin. quibus ante discessum hmoi. respective preeratis ac aliis ecclesiis quibus vos et aliqui in absolutione predicta comprehensi preeratis et preerant etiam ex concessione et dispensatione apostolica, de novo vos et illos preficimus et que vos et alii absoluti predicti aut aliqui eorum obtinebatis Monasteria Prioratus Preposituras Prepositatus dignitates personatus administrationes et officia ceteraque beneficia ecclesiastica secularia et regularia hmoi. illa eorumque qualitates ac fructuum reddituum et proventuum veros annuos valores ac si nominatim specificarentur presentibus pro expressis habendo in titulum vel commendam prout vos illa et illi obtinebatis de novo vobis et illis respective conferimus et commendamus per vos et illos quoad vixeritis tenenda regenda et gubernanda... Et pro potioris cautele suffragio ea omnia et singula ac diffidationes et Banna et bonorum vestrorum et dictorum domicellorum ac aliorum absolutorum predictorum confiscationes ac alienationes quaslibet de illis per nos forte factas similibus motu scientia auctoritate et potestate revocamus et volumus pro infectis haberi. Et insuper vobis et cuilibet vestrum ac aliis quos absolutio predicta includit standi et morandi in Urbe et ex illa recedendi ac ad illam redeundi et alibi extra illam in quibusvis locis de quibus vobis et illis videbitur et placebit pro nutu et voluntate vestra et illorum, nec ex locis illis ad eamdem curiam vel alium locum vos et vestris obsequiis insistentes revocari et ad redeundum ad eamdem curiam vel alium locum et in illa vel illo residendum quacumque excogitabili occasione inviti compelli possitis nec illi possint, et in quibusvis literis monitionibus constitutionibus et mandatis per que cardinales seu curiales prefate curie absentes ad redeundum ad eamdem curiam aut ad alium locum eundum monerentur etiam censuras ad penas in se continentibus nullatenus includamini vos et alii predicti vobiscum existentes sed semper ab illis censeamini vos et illi excepti eisdem motu scientia auctoritate et potestate ex certis rationabilibus causis mentem nostram ad hoc moventibus concedimus, ac volumus concessionem eamdem vobis et vestris obsequiis insistentibus suffragari et nunquam revocatam efficaciter censeri. nisi dum et quotiens alterius vestrum respective ad id

accedente consensu, de quo per literas vestras patentes vestris sigillis et subscriptione manus proprie munitas et non aliter appareat, eam contingeret revocari, Decernentes sic per quoscumque Auditores et judices etiam Sancte Roman. ecclesie Carles in quavis causa judicari et interpretari debere sublata eis et cuilibet eorum quavis alia judicandi et interpretandi facultate et auctoritate, necnon ex nunc irritum et inane si secus super hiis a quoquam quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attemptari. Et ne pretextu quarumvis causarum quibus forsan vos Domicelli et alii absoluti predicti alias quam premissorum occasione ligati essetis impediamini presentium literarum consequi effectum, Vos Domicellos et alios quoscumque quos presentes litere includunt ab eisdem censuris et penis quibus forsan a jure vel ab homine quavis alia quam premissorum occasione ligati essetis vel illi essent, quo ad hoc ut presentium consequamini effectum earumdem tenore presentium ante omnia absolvimus et absolutos fore censemus. Et nichilo minus Venerabilibus fratribus nostris Cesenat. et Britonorien. ac Tiburten. Epis per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus ipsi vel duo aut unus eorum per se vel alium seu alios, Vobis, domicellis et aliis absolutis predictis in premissis efficacis defensionis presidio assistant et faciant vos, domicellos et alios absolutos predictos absolutione repositione reintegratione ecclesiis monasteriis Prioratibus Preposituris Prepositatibus dignitatibus personatibus administrationibus et officiis aliisque beneficiis et bonis predictis necnon concessione et aliis gratiis premissis pacifice potiri et gaudere, necnon Banna diffidationes et confiscationes ac condemnationes contra eosdem domicellos et alios absolutos predictos forsan promulgata de libris in quibus apparerent penitus cancellari, ita quod illorum occasione nullo unquam tempore valeant molestari, non permittentes eos contra presentium literarum tenorem per quoscumque inquietari. Contradictores per censuram etc. Non obstantibus etc. Nulli ergo etc. Si quis etc. Dat. Rome apud Sanctumpetrum Anno etc. Mccccl xxxxiiii (St. flor.) Kl. Februar. Pont. nri. Anno Tertio.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I, II, III, Lib. III, Regest. 869, f° 235.

DOCUMENT 144.

Apostolic confirmation of an accord between the Pope and cardinal Giuliano della Rovere.

Alexander etc. Ad futuram rei memoriam. Decet Roman. pontificem Jesu Christi in terris Vicarium qui Ro. ecclesie sponsus et caput existit efficax auxilium impendere ut fratres sui ejusdem Ecclesie cardinales qui illius honorabilia membra existunt et sibi tanquam membra capiti reverenter obsequi volunt, cum animi quiete et tranquillitate in sua obedientia et devotione valeant perseverare. Cum itaque venerabilis frater Jul. Ep^s^ Ostiensis Major Penitentiarius noster, qui aliquandiu a Ro. Curia sine licentia nostra absens fuit, Nobis tanquam membrum capiti cum omni debita reverentia, fide et devotione de cetero ut bonum fidelem et devotum cardinalem decet obsequi intendat, Nosque ipsum etiam omni paterna caritate et affectu prosequi et amplecti, prout nostri semper fuit desiderii, cupiamus et pro quiete sua, interveniente Ven^li^ fratre nostro G. Epo Albanensi nonnulla capitula per prefatum G. Ep^um^ nomine ipsius Juliani Ep^i^, ut hujusmodi nostra ergam eum paternam cognoscere possit primo, et deinde per ipsum Jul. Ep^um^ acceptata que observare et adimplere etiam juramento promisit, firmavimus. Nos volentes peramplius ipsius Juliani ut hujusmodi nostram erga eum paternam caritatem cognoscere possit consulere, Motu proprio non ad alicujus nobis super hoc oblate petitionis instantiam, sed de nostra mera deliberatione et ex certa scientia capitula predicta ac omnia et singula in eis contenta auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium potiori pro cautela approbamus et confirmamus. Et nichilominus prefatum Jul. Ep^um^ ad omnia privilegia gratias et indulgentias tam per nos quam Ro. pontifices predecessores nostros sibi concessa in suum pristinum et eum in quo antequam illa per literas nostras revocarentur existebat statum restituimus reponimus et reintegramus, ita tamen quod prefatus Jul. Ep^s^ donec a dicta curia absens fuerit privilegiis gratiis en indultis hujusmodi non gaudeat nec utatur nisi prout alii ejusdem Ro. ecclesie cardinales absentes gaudent et utuntur. Non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ac literis predictis ceterisque con-

trariis quibuscumque. Nulli ergo etc. nostre approbationis confirmationis restitutionis repositionis et reintegrationis infringere... Si quis etc. Dat. Rome apud S^m^ Petrum etc. Millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo septimo Kls. Decembr. pont nri anno sexto.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I ad X. Lib. VII. Regest. 873, f° 476.

DOCUMENT 145.

Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere to make act of solemn obeisance to pope Alexander VI, for and in the name of King Louis XII.

Instructions de par le Roy louis XIIme de ce nom Roy de france tres chretien A monsieur le Cardinal Sancti Petri ad Vincula protecteur des affaires du Roy et du Royaume en court de Rome, A monsieur le duc de Valentinois [1], A messieurs..... commis et ordonnez par le Roy nre. dit Sr. pour faire et rendre a nre. Sainct pere le pappe alexandre VIme pour et ou nom du Roy nre dit Sr. lobeyssance filiale ainsi quil appartient laquelle Icelui Sr. eust voulentiers faicte en sa personne ou plus tost leust envoye faire si ses affaires leussent peu bonnement comporter.

Premierement presenteront A nre dit Sainct pere les lres. que le Roy nre dit Sr. escript a sa S^te^ Et luy feront les humbles recommandations Ainsi que lon a acoustume de faire en telz cas.

Item Et apres en plain consistoire audience publicque ou autrement au bon plaisir de nre dit Sainct pere mesdits Srs. les depputez pour et ou nom du Roy nre Sr. et le pouoir sur ce a eulx donne luy feront vraye pure et entiere obeyssance filliale tant pour ledit Sr. et tout son royaume que pour tous ses autres pays terres et Seigneuries et pour tous les subyects manans et habitans en Iceulx et tant dela que deca les monts tout ainsi quil a este fait par ses predecesseurs.

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1. A contemporary remark, preliminary to this document, designates " Monsieur le duc de Valentinois, " Cesar de Borgia, as : " Nepveu du pape Alexandre sixiesme. "

Item Et en ce faisant es nom et qualite que dessus mesdits Srs. les ambassadeurs en faisant leur obeyssance recongnoistront nre dit Sainct pere le pappe Alexandre VIme vray recteur de leglise universelle et vray vicaire de dieu en terre et celuy a qui toute pleniere sincere et entiere obeyssance filiale est deue.

Et promectront iceulx ambassadeurs come dessus de obeyr et faire obeyr nre dit Sainct pere par tous les royaumes pays terres et seigneuries appartenans a nre dit Sr. en tous cas es quels obeyssance est deue a nre dit Sainct pere et au Sainct Siege appostolique Et comme ses predecesseurs Roys de france tres chretiens et autres ont acoustume parcydevant faire aux Saincts peres de Rome qui sont canoniquement entrez en dit Sainct Siege appostolique.

.....Fait a loches le IIIIme jour de fevrier lan mil cccciiiixx dix neuf.

Loys Loblet

Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds fr., Cod. 2930, f° 1.

DOCUMENT 146.

Pope Alexander VI tries to dissuade Louis XII from invading the duchy of Milan.

Instructiones datae Vobis Venerabili fratri Domino Archiepiscopo Ragusino ac dilectis filiis Adriano Castellen. Prothonotario ac Apostolicae Camerae clerico et secretario nostro domestico, et Raymondo Centellen. Prothonotario et Thesaurario Perusino nostris et Apostolicae Sedis ad Ludovicum Francorum Regem Christianissimum Nuntiis et Oratoribus.

Post datam suae Maiestati benedictionem... Addetisque Nos non tam eius (Caroli VIII) morte tristatos esse, quam assumptione sua... laetatos... Si de Ducatu Mediolani aliquid sua Maiestas in medium adducit, respondebitis nos omnem accessum dignitatis et gloriae Maiestati suae vehementer et non minus quam nostrum et Romanae ecclesiae optare. Verum etiam animadvertat quod cum progenitores sui Aurelianenses Duces et ipse quinquaginta annis elapsis vel circa per gentem Sfortia-

dum Ducatum possideri passi sint, qui etiam ab Imperatore se dicto ducatu investitos affirmant et pro Ducibus eiusdem ducatus praecipue et ubique apud Christianissimos Reges Franciae habiti sunt, convenientius et utilius Christianae Reipublicae et Maiestatis suae honori congruentius esse iudicabit eum diutina patientia per se et suos hactenus habita pacifice pertransire, quam nutantibus hoc tempore fidei et Catholicae Religionis fundamentis, utpote longo Turcorum bello et maxima potentia quassatis, contentionem nunc de dicto Ducatu quinquaginta annis elapsis non motam et nova bellorum fomenta excitare. Nos certe confidimus dilectum filium Mediolani Ducem Maiestatem suam omni observantia et reverentia prosequturum, ac omnibus in rebus boni affinis et filii suae Celsitudinis officia ei prestiturum, ac regali coronae suae devotionem et reverentiam quam exposcet, non minus quam praedecessores sui in Ducatu exhibiturum, et quum pacem et quietem universalem Reipublicae Christianae ob causam aliquam et praecipue huius Ducatus turbari nobis admodum molestum esset, omnem operam nostram ad compositionem et pacem inter Maiestatem suam et praefatum Ducem offerimus, si quid in ea re efficere poterimus. Quod si Maiestas sua respuendum hoc nostrum consilium censuerit et ad invadendum dictum ducatum alium induxerit, diligenter animadvertat quot urbium excidia, populorum clades, animarum perditiones tanta belli moles et Italicae et Gallicae nationi sit allatura, et quod plus calamitatis et infamiae quam honoris et gloriae ex huiusmodi novis bellis sit susceptura, nolit queso primitias regni Sui Christianae religionis desolationi causam prestare.

Quod ad ius super Ducatu attinet, Imperatoris partes esse de illo decernere, nemo autem ambigit officii nostri esse concordiam inter quoscunque Principes et praecipue inter Maiestatem suam et Ducem prefatum quem Regiae Coronae suae scimus esse deditissimum quo possimus studio et diligentia curare.....

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Instructiones Div. Cod. XXX-II, 30, f° 134 ; Politicorum Varia, VII, p. 610 ; Bibl. Vatican. Ottoboniana, Cod. 2726, f° 193, 222 ; Urbinate, Cod. 864, f° 211.

DOCUMENT 147.

Instructiones datae ab Alexandro Papa VI. Reverendo Episcopo Tiburtino ad Dominium Venetorum Oratori delegato, pro liberatione Reverendissimi D. Cardinalis Ascanii Vicecancellarii Venetis detenti.

Venerabilis frater Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem etc. De tua in nos et apostolicam sedem perspecta fide, prudentia, integritate ac ingenii dexteritate fiduciam in domino habentes, te unum delegimus cui negocium liberationis dilecti filii nostri Ascanii S. R. E. Cardinalis et Vicecancellarii quod nobis et sacro cardinalium nostrorum Collegio summo cordi est, inter alia procurandum committimus, ad praedictum inclitum Dominium Venetorum ; non dubitantes fideliter te et accurate omnia tibi demandata iuxta cor nostrum executurum.

Volumus igitur ac tibi committimus ut statim Venetias ad ducem praefatum te conferas, exhibitoque suae Nobilitati Breve credititio in personam tuam, et literis praefati Collegii, postquam et paternam benedic. nomine nostro nunciaveris, eidem significes quantum nos et praefatos fratres nostros Cardinales omnes allatus primus nuncius de detentione praefati Card. Ascanii commoverit, qui desperatis rebus Mediolanensibus dum fuga salutem quereret in manus militum istius Dominii devenit. Verum quamvis certo sciamus in personam ipsius cardinalis nihil incommodi aut sinistri esse timendum, cum a probitate ipsius et prudentia ac in nos et apostolicam Sedem observantia nihil a benignitate et clementia alienum posset ab eodem cardinale expectari, tamen cum ob huiusmodi captivitatem tantopere noster et Sacri Collegii atque apostolicae Sedis honor et dignitas, ecclesiasticaque libertas laedatur, te de Venerabilium fratrum nostrorum Cardinalium consilio, hoc ipsum unanimiter et instanter efflagitantium et supplicantium, destinandum duximus, ad nobilitatem suam adhortandam, requirendam et enixe rogandam, ut pro nostra ipsiusque Sacri Collegii singulari complacentia, proque justitiae debito et illius reverentia et devotione in hanc Sanctam Sedem, de qua semper bene promereri studuit, nolit in hac re ab instituto Maiorum

suorum discedere, sed dignitatis et officii nostri in primis rationem habere, sicut et nos quantum cum Deo possumus honoris et rerum suarum habemus et habituri semper sumus.

Itaque quantum in te erit, aptiori et vehementiori instabis oratione, ut praefatum Card. libere ut debent nobis restituant, et ad nos tute pervenire concedant. In quo non solum Sacrique Collegii voto satisfacient, sed etiam iustitiae debito, honori et rebus suis consulent ; quos poteris certos reddere quod ipse Ascanius nullibi quietius esse potest quam apud nos, quoniam eo pacto providebimus rationem habentes rerum ipsius Dominii, ut nihil adversi in eos moliri aut tentare possit. Praeterea dices quoniam scimus Romanorum Regem, eidem Cardinali affinitatis vinculo coniunctum, et Hispaniarum et Neapolis Reges, nec non Archiducem Austriae et alios Principes de salute ipsius solicitos liberationem eius petituros ; eumdem ducem et dominium rogabis ut nos sicut aequum est, in hac re quae maxime ad nos pertinet ceteris praeponant et petitiones aliorum Principum praeveniant, dictum Cardinalem nobis, ut supra dictum est, reddendo, quoniam re dilata, multas nobis et sibi molestias et scandala quae oriri possunt forsitan auferent. Itaque quanto citius ipsum nobis restituent, tanto magis honori et istius etiam dominii existimationi satisfacient, cum in huiusmodi Cardinalis restitutione, non tam de illius liberatione quam de dignitate nostra et Sacri Collegii praecipue agatur.

Considerent pro sua prudentia quod si res differatur, instantibus praefatis principibus pro eademmet liberatione, negocium hoc tam iustum ac tanti momenti, in quo salva conscientia silere non possimus, quomodo praetermittere aut officium nostrum pastorale ac dignitatem nostram deserere possumus ; et nihil dicimus de gravissimis censuris ecclesiasticis et penis cuilibet fideli perhorescendis adversus capientes Cardinalem aut favorem et assensum praestantes, a iure et per Pontificum decreta inflictis, quae omnia suae nobilitati et omnibus peritis innotescunt. Dominium tandem ipsum, pro nostro in illud affectu, rogamus et paterne monemus ut, sicuti antea semper huiusmodi censuras effugere curarunt, ita nunc evitare studeant, neque hac de causa nos et ipsosmet maioribus molestiis et scandalis immisceant. Et ut eos ad hanc liberationem exemplo facilius inducas, poteris adducere in medium inconvenientia quae occurrerunt propter detentionem Cardinalium, et ut anti-

quiora ommittantur, repetes quomodo tota patria Austriae iacuerit supposita ecclesiastico interdicto ob detentionem bo. me. Cardinalis Sancti Petri ad Vincula detenti a Sigismundo Archiduce Austriae, qui, liberato dicto Cardinale, absolutionem tamen obtinere non potuit, nisi primum clarae memoriae Federicus 3^s Imperator eius frater coram Legato apostolico flexis genibus veniam supliciter petiisset ; et Cardinalis Sancti Georgii nunc Camerarius a populo Florentino tumultuante propter conspirationem tunc Archiepiscopi Pisani et cumplicum suorum, et ex subsequuta cede Juliani de Medicis detentus, instante Syxto 4° pristinae libertati remissus fuit ; et Cardinalis Andegavensis licet ob proditionem captus a Ludovico Francorum Rege detineretur, demum instante eodem Syxto Pontifice liberatus et per Cardinalem Sancti Petri ad Vincula ad Romanam Curiam est perductus.

Praemissis itaque rationibus et aliis quibus poteris nostro nomine suadebis praefati Cardinalis restitutionem et consignationem nobis ut praefertur faciendam, ipsumque Ducem et Dominium hortaberis ut, cum Maiorum suorum exigentibus meritis, plurimis et maximis privilegiis ac insigniis a Sede apostolica fuerint decorati, nolint nunc ipsam Sedem tali ignominia afficere et sibi ipsis et gloriae Christianae tantam incurrere, capiendo et detinendo, invito Pontifice, Cardinalem ipsum, adversus quem nullam causam nullamve iurisdictionem saeculares Principes habere possunt, dicente Domino per Prophetam : Nolite tangere christos meos.

Quod si forte respondeant se illum detinere ad instantiam Christianissimi Francorum Regis ipsis consociati, cujus statum dictus Cardinalis Ascanius vexabat et se bello immiscebat, aut se velle Regem ipsum de huiusmodi liberatione consulere, Dicere poteris quod nos, qui non minus ipsum Regem amamus, nihil petimus in damnum vel iniuriam Suae Maiestatis, sed repetimus quod nostrum est et quod ad nos et ad neminem alium spectat ; ipsis vero Cardinalem nobis praebentibus et restituentibus, quem salva honestate et conscientia retinere non possunt nec debent, ipse Christianissimus Rex nihil imputare poterit : Volentibus dictas censuras et paenas ecclesiasticas devitare etc.

Quod si forsan obiiceretur Cardinalem praefatum cum suis, alia crimina in nos, in dictum dominium ac praefatum Regem

commisisse et Turcarum Principem, Christiani nominis hostem ad arma movenda in eos excitasse, violata pace in qua degebant ; Quod si Cardinalis aliqua perpetraverit ob quae sit puniendus, ad nos solos et non ad alium ullum eius causae cognitionem et iudicium spectare, qui si quid in eo puniendum reperiemus, illud inspecta rei veritate, taliter mediante iustitia exequemur, ut nulla exinde iusta quaerela possit afferri, idque eis libere nostro nomine polliceri poteris. Itaque instabis ut sine dilatione, sicut honori suo etiam expedire iudicamus, dictam liberationem et restitutionem per nos et Sacrum Collegium nostram petitam accelerent, ne interim praefatis censuris a iure statutis, quod nobis est molestissimum, irretiti cum tanto animarum suarum periculo remaneant.

Si vero post multam et iteratam instantiam per te factam, videris eos persistere in proposito retinendi dictum Cardinalem, respondendo se nolle vel non posse dictam restitutionem facere, dicere poteris te non acquiescere eiusmodi eorum responso, ipsos denuo rogando ut velint rem hanc maturius considerare et in alio die tibi respondere, quoniam si nobis significares tale eorum responsum, negotium contra desiderium nostrum et huius Sacri Collegii, pro comperto habes hoc nobis molestissimum fore ; et quod versamur in magnis angustiis, dum effugere volumus quoad fieri potest publicationem dictarum censurarum et paenarum ; et propterea dices te velle prius expectare aliud eorum responsum, antequam ad nos scribas, qui quidem nullam ab isto Dominio, et presertim in hac petitione tam iusta et honesta et honorem nostrum et Ecclesiae libertatem maxime concernente, repulsam expectare debemus.

Quod si, antequam Venetias perveneris, in itinere intelleges ipsum cardinalem a dicto Dominio fuisse Regi Christianissimo seu eius oratoribus concessum vel promissum, volumus ut ex civitate et loco ubi id didisceris non progrediaris, sed ibi subsistas, et ad nos statim scribas, expectans responsum nostrum, ut a nobis fias certior quid tibi sit agendum. De his vero quae sequentes in dies circa dictum negocium (fient) ad nos crebro diligenter et accurate de singulis scribere ne differas, ut opportune providere possimus.

Curabis etiam obtinere ut permittant ipsum Cardinalem Ascanium nostro nomine et Sacri Collegii visere et alloqui posse te ; eosque rogabis ut ipsum detinendo sub custodia

minus arcta interim secum velint benignius agere. Postea, ex permissione ipsius Dominii, eumdem Cardinalem nomine nostro invises, et quoad poteris consolaberis, exhortando ut bono animo sit, et bene speret, eidem significans a nobis et cardinalibus ei missum fuisse ad procurandam eius liberationem et restitutionem. Dat. Romae etc. Die quarta maii 1500, An. Pont. nri. Octavo.

L. Podocatharus.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Politicorum Varia. Vol. VII, f° 652 ; Instruct. Div. XXX, f° 151vo ; Diversorum, Cod. 122, f° 155 : Bibl. Vatic. Ottobon., Cod. 2726, f° 222 ; Urbinate, Cod. 864, f° 221.

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